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TARIFF TENDENCIES IN GREAT BRITAIN.

THERE is probably no country to which it has pleased the foreign historian to ascribe so unbroken a thread of continuity in action and in purpose as England. And yet, perhaps, there is none where action has so constantly varied, and where purpose has been so palpably altered to suit the altering conditions, not alone of the island itself, but of the outside world.

Since first she took rank among the notable nations of the earth, England has been engaged in a gradual but constant change of front. She has, so to speak, moved her front door right round the island—from the eastern counties, which in the Middle Ages were the great centre of population and of that nascent commercial activity which found its outlet in a trade through Flanders, round by the south coast as the trade with Southern Europe developed, through Bristol, which was especially the port for the West Indies, and up the west coast to Liverpool and Glasgow, to which has finally and mainly gravitated the great trade with North America. Thus, that district extending from Glasgow to Lancashire, once known as Strathclyde, which was uninhabited moor, morass, and forest at the time when the eastern counties were teeming with life and dotted with rich monasteries and churches, has now become the most important and the most populous part of the island.

And if England has changed the side of her house through which she looks forth and puts out her fullest hands to the outside world, she has no less changed in the same time her home activities. Originally

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she was a pastoral and grazing country,—a fact so fully recognized that wool, the great staple of the country, was guarded by the severest sumptuary laws. Even to this day, when England does not export a single pound of wool, the Lord Chancellor sits, in the House of Lords, on a woolsack—the emblem of her once prosperous trade in this article. In the beginning of the present century she became a manufacturing country, not so much of set conscious purpose as through the accidental advantage which the juxtaposition of good coal and good iron gave to her in the early development of machinery and of the manufactures which were its children.

Now, when the whole world is, as it were, being brought to its bearings, and each part put in touch with the rest, it seems to some of us as though the great final destiny of England were to be that of the *carrier* of the world. For the rational horizon of London embraces all the four quarters of the earth, including the whole of Europe, the whole of Asia, the whole of Africa, the whole of North America, and the greater part of South America ; while England herself, set in the midst of the sea and at the crossing of those sea-roads which are the only roads of commercial importance, seems as eminently fitted by her geographical position as by her secular traditions to remain permanently the centre of, and the chief agent in, the intercommunication of the chief nations of the earth.

With changes of occupation, of purpose, and almost of destiny, changes in the fiscal policy of England have come naturally, intelligibly, almost inevitably. Up to the middle of the seventeenth century, —when that feudal system called "the cheap defence of nations" was broken up, and when Charles I, as was said with some exaggeration yet not without some truth, "died a martyr to direct taxation,"—the taxes that Englishmen paid were few. The Customs duties were so small as to be quite insignificant; and Excise, or the internal taxation of commodities, was only known as a Dutch invention, so hateful to the English mind that it was believed Englishmen would perish to the last man rather than endure it.

But with the portentous introduction—now beginning to be fully recognized—of that tremendous new factor in the world's history, the great American continent, there came a vast increase of trade. The struggle for trade brought wars : it will be found, indeed, upon strict examination, that each of the wars waged by England since the seventeenth century has been waged strictly for trade, whatever else may have appeared to be the reason at the time. Those wars brought ex-

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pense and debt; and expense and debt necessitated taxes and a fiscal system. Hence, there grew up in England a Customs tariff of which it was said, that Sir Robert Walpole found it the worst in the world and left it the best. It, however, remained bad enough, passed through a period when it was informed by the most strenuous Protection (especially for corn), and at length suggested to fiscal reformers the idea of a complete change of system. Said Prosperity Robinson, in 1844: "Why not emancipate the commerce of Great Britain?" And the answer was given by Sir Robert Peel a few years later, when (paying the cost with a reimposed income-tax of seven-pence in the pound) he reduced the English Customs tariff from 1,200 to 450 dutiable articles, and in 1846 repealed the duties on corn with the exception only of a shilling per quarter registration duty.

Peel's example was followed and bettered by Mr. Gladstone, who in 1853 made another great sweep of dutiable articles and another revision of the tariff. Nor was this the end. In 1874 Sir Stafford Northcote abolished the Customs duty on sugar, which then produced £2,000,000 per annum; giving this as his reason:

> "It is held out to us that, if we abolished the sugar duty, there is a reasonable prospect that England may become the great entrepot of the sugar trade; and I think that is a consideration which all who are interested in the commercial prosperity of the country must regard as being one of first-rate magnitude."

It was, however, in 1869 that the British tariff was finally brought into its present form. For twenty-three years the duty of a shilling a quarter on corn (which in 1869 produced £855,000 per annum) had existed without being challenged or even complained of. In 1846 the Corn Law League had dissolved itself for the express reason that it had seen the triumph of Free Trade, on which triumph, indeed, Peel had founded his own claims to the remembrance of his fellow-citizens. But Mr. Robert Lowe, when Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1869, with a flourishing revenue and the best national prospects, seems to have felt toward this shilling a quarter as Haman felt when he said: "All this availeth me nothing so long as I see Mordecai the Jew sitting at the king's gate." He, therefore, without any demand, or even so much as a suggestion from the outside, abolished the shilling duty, partly from a wanton deliverance over of himself to abstract speculation, and partly for the same reason which Sir Stafford Northcote had given in regard to sugar; viz., that he expected England to become the entrepot for corn. He said:

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"Surely there is such a thing as faith in politics as well as in religion ; and if we cannot, at this time of day, trust enough to the doctrines of political economy and Free Trade to believe that when you raise nearly £1,000,000 from the poorest of your people you do an immense amount of mischief, what is the use of abstract science or speculation at all ? . . Then there is another point that also seems to me to be of the greatest importance ; and that is, the amount of trade which might exist in this article if it were not for the duty. . . England, with her enormous trade, is fitted by her splendid geographical position between America, on the one hand, and the corn-growing countries of the Baltic, Russia, and Poland, on the other, to become more and more the commercial entrepot of the world for this and other commodities."

It can scarcely be necessary to say that England has not become more an entrepot, either for sugar than she was in 1874, or for corn than she was in 1869. But the point to remark is the uncompromising, unquestioning belief of the hard-and-fast, high-and-dry Free Traders who then predominated in England, that the gospel of Free Trade, as taught by Villiers, Cobden, and Bright, was one of which every word was marked by the plenary inspiration of the Almighty, one of which no syllable could be disregarded without a fearful anticipation of wrath to come.

It may here be remarked that the apostles of Free Trade in England were not precisely men who took no thought for the morrow. It had been pointed out to them by their esoteric teachers, and notably by McCulloch, that with cheap bread it would be possible to pay the workman lower wages without driving him out of existence ; that, therefore, Free Trade in corn for the people meant higher profits for the manufacturers. But this reflection was one which the apostles kept largely to themselves, and which was not found playing any great part in the eloquent and impassioned appeals to humanity and high principles with which they so stirred the country.

The triumph of Free Trade (so-called only, for, as we shall see, trade is not wholly free in England to this day) which was achieved in 1849 and exaggerated in 1869 and 1874, was the triumph of middle-class doctrinaires, not wholly unmoved by considerations of enlightened self-interest for their class, who conceived that in this they had found a *summum bonum*, to which all the world would certainly come very quickly when once they saw the brilliant example of England with her conspicuous success. Free Trade, they taught and believed, would certainly make all men traders under the best conditions, and therefore friends and brothers of supreme necessity ; and it would as certainly bring wars to an end and inaugurate an era of universal peace and amity. Nor is it in any way to be denied that under the new fiscal sys-

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tem England has greatly prospered: not, indeed, wholly because of it,—for other reasons as potent have been at work,—yet, at the very least, coincidently with its existence.

With such an admission as this, however, the great preachers of the New Crusade would be by no means content. They had attacked and destroyed the old doctrine of force, in which men had thitherto believed, and had substituted for it the new doctrine of trade. All the world's history, they smugly and confidently asserted, had thitherto been a mistake: all its great men had been corrupt or wrong, fools or villains, or both. The whilom national hero, Richard *Cœur de Lion*, who had made fame for himself and his country by hard knocks, was now to be replaced by "Richard *Cœur de Coton*" (as the Prince Consort wittily named him), who would make far greater fame by soft goods. Free Trade was right, always had been right, and always would be right, everywhere, in all times, and in all places. This was the true national verity; and unless a man believed it, without doubt he would perish everlastingly.

The above description is in truth scarcely an exaggeration of what was then held and is held to-day by the more convinced disciples of the new doctrine, who, by their energy, their conviction, their intolerance, and the dismal howls to which they give vent at the mere distant approach of a doubt, have long dragged after them an immense yet ever more hesitating following. Modern facts indeed—the stupendous successes of the United States, not only in home but in neutral and in British markets, the strenuous and daily more formidable competition of Germany, and the very remarkable and successful increase of trading and manufacturing energy in Russia (all of them, be it remarked, severely Protectionist countries)—have caused many to question the faith; and those who have thus questioned have been but ill satisfied by the scornful or elusive answers which they have received from the high-priests to whom they have communicated their doubts. But, in spite of all, the Free Traders undoubtedly remain dominant in England at the present day,—not, indeed, with so assured and unquestioned a position as they held forty years ago, but still in great strength and in full possession of all the commanding positions.

The tendency in England for the last twenty-five years has been to substitute "direct" for "indirect" taxation; although the distinction between the two systems thus named is far from being exact, and is in many cases shadowy. By what we call direct taxes are popularly meant those taxes, such as income-tax and death duties, which

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are, or are supposed to be, levied directly upon the person upon whom the burden ultimately falls; while by indirect taxes are meant those which are levied upon commodities, and which thus reach only in an indirect manner the person who ultimately bears their burden. It is further believed by many, and it is preached by some who should know better, that all direct taxation falls on the rich, while all indirect taxation falls on the poor,—a delusion so patent that it is difficult to understand how it can be honestly entertained. Nevertheless, it is probably to this delusion—and on account of the consequent belief, that to diminish the proportion of indirect to direct taxation is to relieve the poor—that many of the recent fiscal evolutions in English finance are due.

In 1874–75 direct taxation in the United Kingdom produced, in round figures, £20,000,000; while indirect taxation produced £42,000,000. After an interval of twelve years, that is to say, in 1886–87, we find direct taxation producing £34,000,000, and indirect taxation, £41,000,000. After another interval of twelve years, that is to say, in 1898–99, we have direct taxation producing £48,000,000, while indirect taxation has risen to £51,000,000; so that, while twenty-four years ago we looked to indirect taxation to give us double as much revenue as direct taxation, in the present day we have arrived, as nearly as may be, at an equality between the two. All this means, of course, the carrying out of the Free Trade gospel, by the avoidance of any tax that would add to the Customs tariff, and the consequent falling back upon an increase in the direct taxes, in order to provide for the constant increase of expenditure which marks the modern state.

England herself claims to be, and all other countries believe her to be, the one Free Trade country in a backsliding and uneconomic world; and it is probable that many foreigners entertain the conviction that England is one vast free port where no Customs duties at all are levied. This is very far from being the case. It is so far from being the case, indeed, that there is no country in Europe, nor, with the exception of the United States, any in the world, which levies so large an amount of Customs duties at its ports as the United Kingdom. This, to some, may be a hard and surprising saying; but it is the strict truth. Not Protectionist Russia, nor Protectionist Germany, nor Protectionist France gets so much revenue from Customs as Free Trade England. And the strange thing is that the British Customs revenue is levied wholly upon a very few articles, *e.g.*, tea, which is taxed with a Customs duty of 35 per cent; wine, which is taxed 22 per cent; spir-

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its, which are taxed 206 per cent ; and tobacco, which is taxed 247 per cent.

The schismatics, who doubt whether this is Free Trade, and the heretics, who deny that it is Free Trade, are indeed loftily silenced by being told that the fewer the articles taxed, the freer the trade is for all other articles upon a given Customs revenue. They are further told that, since neither tea nor wine nor tobacco is produced in England, and since there is a countervailing Excise duty on British spirits equivalent to the Customs duty on foreign spirits, therefore it is not a system of Protection, but only a system of Revenue, which raises over £20,000,000 of Customs at our ports. They are reminded also of one of the great central Free Trade doctrines, that it is the *motive* which governs all, and that, therefore, while even a 1 per cent duty on corn would be outrageous because suggesting the motive of Protection, there is no such wickedness in the 247 per cent duty on tobacco, inasmuch as, in that instance, there can be no motive but that of revenue.

It is true, indeed, that doubts have been felt as to whether we do not rely upon too few articles and upon duties thereon too high. Thus, Mr. Goschen, in 1889, when Chancellor of the Exchequer, said:

> "It is better service to the state to increase the number of sources of revenue than to endeavor to find simplicity. . . I say you have pushed simplicity of taxation up to a point beyond which you cannot carry it without danger."

Again, in 1894 he said:

> "In my judgment, our total fiscal system rests upon a very narrow foundation. The whole revenue is derived from a comparatively small number of sources. Any one, indeed, who can broaden the basis and find new sources of revenue by which you can avoid a recurrence, for example, to the income-tax, will render, and does render, a public service."

So, also in 1894, Mr. Arthur Balfour, the present First Lord of the Treasury, spoke of the "danger that we run in confining too much of our taxation to one or two commodities at most."

These remarks appear to be only too well founded, when it is remembered that Great Britain levies practically the whole of her Customs duties—amounting in 1897 to over £21,000,000—on the four items, tea, wine, spirits, and tobacco. The aggregate value of the imports of these in the same year was no more than £23,000,000 ; so that the average Customs duty all round was over 90 per cent *ad valorem*.

It has been recently asked by the schismatics—and this is one of the many small signs of a less complete faith in Free Trade—whether Mr. Goschen's appeal for new sources of taxation might not be met by

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a revival of Customs duty on certain articles which formerly were well known in our tariff; and this with the purest and most unsullied *motive* of revenue alone, without any possible suggestion of Protection, and, therefore, without any infidelity to Free Trade as understood by the straitest of its sects. Such, for instance, are imported furs, £1,500,000; feathers, £1,200,000; lace, £1,400,000; musical instruments, £1,000,000; and embroidery and artificial flowers, £1,600,000; not to mention precious stones in general and diamonds in particular, which the Cape alone sent to us in 1897 to the value of £4,400,000. In our older tariffs, existing from 1825 to 1842, every one of these articles of import, excepting only diamonds, was taxed from 20 to 50 per cent *ad valorem;* and it is easy to estimate what a handsome increased revenue they would provide were they now to be taxed even at so low a rate as tea, not to speak of so high a rate as tobacco.

The same strange venture of disregarding the many and relying upon the few, which is found in British indirect taxation, is also found in our system of direct taxes. In the case of the death duties, it is an absolute fact—incredible as it may appear—that one-tenth of the estates pay nine-tenths of the estate duty imposed by Sir William Harcourt's Finance Act. In the case of the income-tax, again, the same feature recurs. The best authorities agree in estimating the aggregate income of the inhabitants of the British Islands at £1,500,000,000. Such, however, are the exemptions introduced into this tax that, in the year 1896, only £700,000,000 was assessed by the authorities; and such are the abatements made that, out of this £700,000,000, only £500,000,000 paid duty. Thus, instead of the state getting £50,000,000, as with an eightpenny income-tax it would have got, if it had taxed the whole of the incomes, or £23,000,000, if it had taxed only the whole of the assessed incomes, it did in fact get no more than £16,500,000. Or, to put it in another way, the state relied, and still does rely, upon one-third of the total incomes for the whole income-tax. In short, it must seem to the foreigner that, if there be a dominant principle to be found in the confused system of British taxation, it is the principle of Exemption, whereby, in effect, a grant of public money is made from those few men and things that do pay to those many men and things that do not pay. British taxation, in fact, is a pyramid which seems to rest not upon its base, but upon its apex.

The British Budget of 1899, to which some looked forward as offering a favorable occasion for recasting the British system of taxation so as to bring it into consonance with some intelligible principles, did not

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find in its author, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, a Chancellor of the Exchequer ready to undertake that task. Sir Michael has had more revenue and larger realized surpluses over expenditure, and has left less to show for it, than perhaps any Chancellor of the Exchequer since the reign of King John. He did, indeed, in 1898 remit tobacco duty to the extent of £1,000,000; but it is complained that tobacco is none the cheaper, and that all the remission went into the pockets of the manufacturers. This year, finding himself, for the first time since his advent in 1895, short in his estimates by close upon £3,000,000, as compared with his expenditure for 1899–1900, he has not only reduced the permanent annual provision for the liquidation of the national debt by £2,000,000 (to the very great concern of all sound financiers), but has also conceived, and will no doubt carry out, the idea of imposing upon foreign securities and joint-stock companies new stamp duties which, although not large in amount, must probably avail in some degree to check the increasing financial business of London.

In addition to this, for the sake of another small sum of £420,000 (about one-three-hundredth part of his total estimated revenue), he has excited discontent in, and the commercial hostility of, not only France, Germany, Spain, and Italy, but also the British colonies at the Cape and in Australia, by imposing an extra duty on wines. These proceedings, as will be seen, involved no departure from the settled tariff policy of Great Britain, nor are they indeed any part of any settled plan or any application of any principle. They are no more than the rough-and-ready, hand-to-mouth devices of a most estimable country gentleman who has somehow or other become a Chancellor of the Exchequer.

The present tendency in Great Britain is to leave things as they are and to trust to the natural expansion of the revenue—from the steadily increasing prosperity of the country—to provide for the greatly swelling expenditure. So long as this prosperity continues there will probably be no cry for a revision of the British system of taxation, nor any demand for fiscal genius, but only for the usual day-by-day, hand-to-mouth succession of expedients. Should trade, however, languish, and the prosperity of the country threaten to diminish, then indeed not alone those who have never bowed the knee to Cobden, but many of those who have, will arise and begin to prophesy strange things.

Then will be the day for those who, with afflicting sheaves of statistics in hand, show that every British colonist, as a customer for British produce, is worth twenty-three average foreigners, and that it is,

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therefore, sound wisdom to differentiate our Customs duties in favor of the Colonies, to give the Colonies thus an advantage over the foreigner, and thereby to stimulate the increase of colonial trade and population and, in fact, to breed our own customers. Then, too, will be the day for that persistent, confident class of economists who have never been able to make up their minds to have cheap sugar forced upon them at the expense of the foreign taxpayer, and who deem it an effort of the highest statesmanship to make sugar dearer for themselves in order to give an advantage to the West Indian colonies. Then, if ever, will be the era, already begun timidly and tentatively in India, of countervailing duties opposed to, and imposed for the purpose of neutralizing, foreign bounties. Then, even the one-shilling-a-quarter-on-corn man may once more raise his head and demonstrate that so small a tax would make no possible difference in the price of the loaf.

Then, in short, the door will be opened and audience given to all those who, in ever-increasing numbers since the English democracy has been more fully admitted to power, have ventured to conceive distrust or doubt or qualm in connection with that strange system of Free Trade which levies high duties, of income-tax which does not tax incomes, and of universal taxation tempered by nearly universal exemption which goes by the name of British finance. But that day is not yet.

THOMAS GIBSON BOWLES.

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EGYPT UNDER LORD CROMER.

GREAT surprise was expressed by Viscount Cromer when it was found necessary to award the contract for the new bridge across the Atbara to an American firm. Strictly speaking, only the superstructure was bid upon. This must be in place and open for traffic during the present year. Time was far more important than money. The lowest English bid was £10,490 ; the lowest American, £6,500. The English contractors wanted six and a half months in which to complete the work : the Americans asked for forty-two days ; and they won. "I do not doubt," writes Lord Cromer in his report to Parliament of this year, "that these facts admit of some explanation with which I am unacquainted."

Here we have one of those incidents which reveal the strictly impartial character of the work that has been and is being done by Lord Cromer in Egypt. However, I have not set myself the task of writing an estimate of this remarkable man. I propose to set down an estimate of the country as it is to-day, based upon my own observation and upon a perusal of no ordinary amount of official and unofficial literature.

And first the Soudan. When I left the Khedive's dominions in March of this year, the Soudan was a closed region. When the country would be opened up even Lord Cromer did not appear to know. Meantime, inquiries are pouring into Cairo from all parts of the world —no small proportion of them being from America—on the subject of its commercial possibilities. The English officials refuse to commit themselves regarding this matter ; merely declaring that when access is free, the whole world may come and see for itself. Now, my own view is, that, rich as the Soudan may be in natural resources, nothing can be predicated of it commercially until the railways at present projected have been built. The want of railway facilities is manifest from the fact that when famine prices are offered at Omdurman, grain at Jedarif is almost given away. Some extraordinary differences in grain prices between nearby places are quoted in official reports, the explanation in every case being the lack of transportation facilities.

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In such a land commercial enterprise is almost a system of preying upon necessity. But this cannot last. About a thousand miles of telegraph wire will be strung through the Soudan before many more months have passed ; the Gordon College will be well forward ; and something resembling civilized government will prevail in the six provinces. At this writing an English military governor and a staff of two coadjutors rule each province. The Government is to build the railways with compulsory labor throughout these regions. The climate seems, from all accounts, to be an unfavorable one for Europeans and Americans, as regards permanent residence, although the Greeks do not appear to mind it. Khartoum, at this time, is described by Lord Cromer as a collection of ruined mud huts : it is planned, however, to have a hotel built there by next winter.

Turning to Egypt proper, a bewildering array of topics is presented for consideration. To begin with a detail of importance, Egypt to-day is solvent. Her revenue last year was £E11,348,000, an Egyptian pound being the exact equivalent of five dollars. The expenditure was £E10,122,000; and, after a heavy payment into the General Reserve Fund, there remained a surplus of £E484,000. During the coming five years heavy sums, aggregating £3,500,000, will be expended upon irrigation, drainage, railways, schools, and prisons, without adding a penny to the present moderate taxation. Certain public works are projected which will entail an increase of taxes ; but these works, on the other hand, will add materially to the revenues.

I do not mean that the fiscal system is perfect ; but reforms are both constant and practical. The best evidence of the general improvement is found in the present trend of capital seeking investment in Egypt. The British are first in this movement, although, to cite Lord Cromer, "for some years after the occupation of Egypt but little British capital came into the country." There was no confidence. To-day the situation is just the reverse. British capital is eager for "Egyptians," not in any wildly speculative way, but in common-sense perception of the value of the security. And Egypt is a good customer. She buys only what she wants, and pays her bills when they are due. No wonder it became necessary to institute the British Chamber of Commerce at Alexandria. This body exists for the purpose, among other things, of furnishing, "to those interested, information of a special character in connection with the requirements of the Egyptian market." American merchants and capitalists will find it an invaluable authority.

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This brings me to the subject of the extension of our own trade with Egypt, a topic with which I have already dealt in official reports. Something has recently happened to confirm me in the belief that Egypt is destined soon to be among the very best of our customers abroad : I allude to the ready response she has made to the invitation of our Government to participate in the Exposition and Congress of Commercial Interests to be held in Philadelphia this autumn. Our manufacturers who are looking to the foreign field should make a careful study of Egypt's showing on this occasion. One of the outgrowths of the coming commercial congress will be the establishment, with the countenance and encouragement of our Consular Service, of a sort of bureau of information in Egypt, directed by the Philadelphia Commercial Museum. At present, the American trader desirous of getting a foothold in the Egyptian market writes to the Consul-General for information upon a particular point. When this information is supplied, the trader is no better off than before, owing to his ignorance of certain local peculiarities and of the commercial standing and importance of those with whom he proposes to deal. Business firms in Alexandria and Cairo say they can secure better terms for credit from European manufacturers than from Americans. The reply is, that every business transaction must rest on its own merits. If the Americans hold out an inducement for cash,—and they can do it,—they will get cash.

There are two lines of industry which ought to flourish in Egypt ; viz., machinery and novelties. The Americans can defy competition in both. In machinery I include engines, presses, light safes, electrical appliances, and, particularly, mechanics' tools. The tools must be very light and simply made. As regards novelties, the Egyptian market will just now absorb an astonishing quantity of rat-traps, lemon-squeezers, combination pocket-knives, and the endless array of five-, ten-, and twenty-cent articles in the production of which our people are so ingenious. The population of Egypt would no doubt be highly appreciative of these goods. Again, our lithographers and great printing establishments could secure a very large proportion of the trade in souvenirs and book-making. The amount of such work to be done is astonishing : one Cairo concern was recently compelled to place a considerable order in Chicago.

Those who are merely seeking conservative investment in Egypt must carefully distinguish between the limited liability companies and the Government undertakings. Both offer excellent classes of securi-

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ties ; but some, of course, are not so desirable as others. It does not follow, because a prospectus claims for an undertaking that it is "authorized by Khedivial decree," that the Egyptian Government guarantees it in any way. Much misunderstanding has resulted from failure to grasp this point.

A significant fact in connection with Egyptian securities is the eagerness of the natives to put their money into them. Not so very long ago the native of Egypt would do almost anything with his money before he would put it into an Egyptian security. To-day the exact opposite is the case. There are few important industrial and commercial undertakings in which natives do not appear prominently as investors.

Not that the Egyptian native is rolling in money. There is one class, indeed, which, while much better off now than ever before, must long remain the object of the Government's solicitude. The fellaheen have had the burden of taxation infinitely lightened ; but the great problem confronting the rulers of Egypt is that of restraining these people from rushing into debt. The Egyptian fellah has a perfectly amazing capacity for borrowing money at incredible rates of interest —40 per cent, and even higher. On this point Lord Cromer, in his report for 1899 to the British Government, observes :

> "I am not aware that anywhere a thoroughly satisfactory solution of this problem has been found. It is, in fact, impossible to feel sanguine of the success of any protective measures devised with the object of safeguarding the poorer class of cultivators against the consequences of their own improvidence."

However, within the past few years the Government has advanced some thousands of pounds, in small sums, to the fellaheen. But the village usurers, who prey upon these people, will lend sums as low as £1 : the average loan is about £5. The Government has no facilities for doing business in loans less than £10. It has, however, hit upon a new device in the creation of a national bank with a loan department for the special needs of the fellaheen. Money will be loaned by this bank in amounts not exceeding £20 each ; and the rate of interest is to be 9 per cent. The fellaheen may also fund their indebtedness by borrowing £100 from the bank at 4 per cent, and may pay back the principal in yearly instalments when the cotton crop is gathered.

The railway system of Egypt is remarkably good, when one considers the obstacles it has to overcome. The hands of the management are tied ; and improvements for which there is crying need are forbidden by law. Lord Cromer says the trouble is due to divided responsibility and to inability, under the law, to apply an adequate

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proportion of revenues to running expenses and improvements. The result is, that the railways, which are under Government control, fail to keep pace with the development of the country. Were it legally possible to borrow some £1,500,000,—which could easily be done on the security,—the whole problem would cease to exist. That being out of the question, the General Reserve Fund itself will be called upon to help out the railway administration in raising, during the next five years, money enough to buy 2,700 10-ton trucks, 200 passenger cars, and 30 locomotives ; and many tons of new steel rails will be laid. These facts are of very great importance to Americans ; and we ought to have no trouble whatever in securing our share of this business. American locomotives are very well known in Egypt ; and American street-cars will soon be seen in Cairo.

It seems to me, that our manufacturers ought to take pains, also, to explain to the Egyptians how to handle American goods. It is not enough to fill an order for a machine and then send it to Egypt. Wherever possible, a competent man ought to be sent out with the parts, to see that justice is done them. Otherwise, a good machine may fall into incompetent hands, and prejudice result.

The telegraph system is doing very well ; but the difficulty just at this moment is the inadequate supply of cheap telegraph poles. Trees have been planted to meet this want. The postal service is excellent. It takes two weeks to transmit a letter from Cairo to New York ; and there is talk of an eleven-day service. The police system is all that can be expected ; and life and property are as safe in Egypt as anywhere else in the world. Municipal improvements are constantly going on in the large cities. A plan is now under consideration for the drainage of Cairo, and the same is true of Alexandria ; and our contractors ought to be ready when bids are invited. The prisons suffer from overcrowding ; and the system of inflicting capital punishment publicly, with thousands of spectators surrounding the scaffold, is perhaps open to objection. Hangings are rare, however,—a fact which leads to the complaint that murders are becoming too numerous.

The native working-classes in the larger cities are fairly well off. This is especially true of Cairo, on account of the activity in building. Wages are very low, to be sure, from the American standpoint ; but they are all that can be desired from the Egyptian point of view.

The class for which there seems no provision is the one known to ourselves as having seen better days. Crowds of Egyptian youths, half-educated and more or less well-bred, are striving for small Gov-

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ernment clerkships, posts in the banks, positions on the railways, and so on. They will do no manual labor ; and they must have what the French call *considération*. What to do with these young men nobody knows,—least of all themselves. Meanwhile they do nothing.

It is the rule, under Lord Cromer, never to employ a foreigner, not even an Englishman, when an Egyptian can be found for the work, whatever it be ; but even the most rigid application of this rule does not stem the tide of Egyptian place-hunters.

As Egypt is, in the classic phrase, the gift of the Nile, so the Nile is the gift of the barrage. The barrage may be roughly described as that series of dams, piers, and engineering works by which the waters of the river are distributed over the widest possible area. The Nile may be likened to a great serpent crawling down the desert. For some miles on either side of the serpent's body there is fertility ; and that fertility is Egypt. All the rest is desert. It is the mission of the barrage to extend the area of Egypt ; and this mission is fulfilled through constant watchfulness, unstinted expenditure, and the highest engineering skill. Unfortunately, the original construction of the barrage was faulty in detail. Repairs have continually to be made ; and in some places the strain is so tremendous that anxiety is expressed for the safety of the structure. However, the construction of weirs, now in progress, will soon eliminate these sources of uneasiness. The Nile, it may be well to explain, fertilizes not so much by its water as by its silt. This red sand comes down with the river from the mountains in Abyssinia ; and, when the waters recede, it is spread over the face of Egypt like a mantle. It is the richest of fertilizers. You may plant crop after crop, never giving your fields a rest ; and the soil never becomes exhausted.

It is of the first importance to regulate the flow of the Nile, so that its life-giving waters may not go to waste. Were the rise invariable, this might be no difficult matter ; but the Nile is the most inconstant of rivers. Its behavior in 1898, as Lord Cromer complains to Parliament, was the exact reverse of that in 1897. This made work for the irrigation officials ; but the most heroic measures proved unavailing to save more than a proportion of the rice crop. The cotton was brought through the ordeal ; but more than once that crop, too, seemed lost. As it was, the promise of an unusually rich yield was not fulfilled. The Nile behaves in this erratic way about once in every five years ; nor is there any immediate prospect of getting it wholly under control. Now that the Soudan has been recovered, the erection

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of Nile gauges in that region and the extension of the irrigation system will, in time, leave the river at the mercy of Egypt : to-day Egypt is at the mercy of the river. During the next five years it is proposed to expend unlimited time, money, and labor upon the Nile. When I was in Egypt about 3,000 men were constantly at work ; while at Assouan and Assiout the construction of enormous dams had been undertaken. It was at the Assouan dam that the Duke of Connaught figured so prominently during the corner-stone ceremonies. The Soudan Expedition being now out of the way, vexatious delays in the prosecution of these undertakings are no longer to be feared.

The Nile flood has given rise to the institution known in Egypt as the *corvée*, or the system of calling out men during the period of flood to act as watchers and to perform incidental guard duty on the river banks. Nearly twenty thousand men were thus called out last year, when the flood was high ; but this was a very much smaller number than had been called out in some previous years. The *corvée* formerly led to great abuses and much murmuring among the natives ; but under English rule the system has been altogether reformed. The men are now employed only where they can be of service ; whereas in former years they had to line the entire length of the river.

Before dismissing the subject of the Nile, I may allude to the ambitious project of using its cataracts for the generation of electrical power. The Egyptian Government has engaged noted experts to look into this subject ; and a very elaborate and favorable report is now in its possession. The matter is to be taken up at no distant day ; and, no doubt, practical results of the highest importance will follow.

It is impossible not to sympathize with Viscount Cromer when he is called upon to deal with a question into which enters, even indirectly, the subject of religion. Like all the competent Englishmen in Egypt, he is very anxious to avoid anything like lack of respect for the conscientious convictions of the natives ; but, on the other hand, the necessity of reform in certain practical matters, such as sanitation and education, makes him the victim of misunderstandings. For example, the two undertakings with which the Sanitary Department is now busied—sanitation of the mosques and removal of the cemeteries —have been the occasion of much embarrassment of this nature. The mosques, about which so much poetry and romance cling, are not clean. The drainage from them pollutes the water-supply. The open ablution-basins spread disease, and are very unhealthy.

As for the cemeteries, their location impedes progress. But the

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outcry against reform in any aspect was the greater in that the object to be attained was totally misunderstood. It is, to me, an additional testimony to the efficiency of the Cromer administration of Egypt, that all opposition, even from the masses of the native population, has practically disappeared, and that the mosques to-day are well cleaned. The ablution-basins are giving way to reservoirs and taps; and the cemeteries are rapidly disappearing. A great central burying-ground now proves amply adequate to all demands upon it; and the natives welcome this reform as a saving of expense and a benefit to themselves.

Another reform in which Lord Cromer is much interested has to do with the enormous consumption in Egypt of hashish. This drug is ruinous in its effect upon the mind and physique of the native; but only within the past few years have really serious efforts been made to counteract the evil. Enforcement of the prohibitive laws has now led to smuggling; and the genius of the Oriental in this line is almost incredible. The hollow frames of iron bedsteads, interiors of nominal grindstones, staves of casks, anything and everything, are made receptacles for hashish. Open indulgence in the drug is no longer possible. The stuff is confiscated wherever detected; and the imprisonment last year of hundreds of traffickers in it has had a deterrent effect. Large quantities, however, are smuggled over the Libyan Desert, and buried in the sand until a favorable opportunity is afforded for conveying it into Egypt by means of camels. The Bedouins are charged with most of the guilt of these proceedings; and no traveller who sees a long line of camels in any part of the Khedive's dominions can feel sure that one among them is not bearing upon its back a consignment of hashish. The natives in the villages regard the smuggler of hashish as a public benefactor. Detection thus becomes next to impossible the moment the load gets upon the camel's back. Nevertheless, the habit has been to a considerable extent stamped out, though the traffic is at present enormously profitable.

It is not generally understood in this country that Egypt is governed through some half-dozen representatives of the great Powers, including the United States of America. No fundamental change in the law or its administration can be made without the sanction of all these Powers. This system had its advantages in former years; but it has gradually become unworkable, owing to the advancement of civilization and the reforms brought about by the English occupation. During recent years many concessions have been made by the Powers

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for the purpose of bestowing something like Home Rule upon Egypt: but the Government still remains an international hodge-podge; and the work which England has to do in the land can never be considered accomplished until the international control shall have been put upon an entirely new basis.

For the moment, conflict rages around the Mixed Tribunals,—courts of which the members are appointed by the Powers. We appoint three of the judges. The Egyptian Government desires, and doubtless will obtain, such a modification of the constitution and the powers of the Tribunals as will put an end to existing anomalies and sweep away the numerous legal impediments to efficient administration. To me, the most anomalous of the features of the Mixed Tribunals is the exclusion of English as one of the languages in which pleas may be presented. This exclusion is very trying to the English and the Americans, who must complain in French, Italian, or Arabic, or not at all.

In addition to the Mixed Tribunals for the foreigners, there are native courts for the natives. The native courts may, for our present purpose, be divided into civil courts and Mohammedan law courts. The first-named are very well conducted tribunals. They decide cases between natives, are presided over by a native judiciary, and enjoy much *prestige* on account of the high standard they have set for themselves. The second class of courts—those engaged in the administration and interpretation of Mohammedan law—require, for their proper appreciation, a sense of humor. They will hear twenty plaintiffs in a string, in as many different suits, before they will listen to the corresponding defendants. They will do anything with their archives you ask them to do, except preserve or arrange them. "I invite the attention of Egyptian reformers," observes Lord Cromer grimly, "to this subject."

Education is now the most important administrative branch of the Government. The schools—that is, those under the direct control of the Government—have about 8,000 pupils. A great many of these pay, through their parents, a moderate sum for their tuition. When the English first entered Egypt they had to pay the parents before the latter would send their children to school. In sixteen years a great change has been effected; and to-day Egyptian parents are very eager to send their children to the Government schools. Unfortunately, the great majority of the children must attend the village schools,—or rather, mosque schools; for they are connected with the mosques of

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the country. About 180,000 children attend these schools, where the instruction is entirely in Arabic, and where the peril in which their health is placed is dire. The children are herded together under unsanitary conditions, and are taught such lore as the resources of the mosques afford.

It would be an error to infer that the backward condition of all of these schools is the result of incompetence. The trouble is largely due to inadequate resources. The Government has come to the aid of these village schools in numerous instances. What the fate of these schools is to be I cannot conjecture ; but they are very interesting survivals of Arab dominion, and among the most picturesque features of native life.

As regards female education, the very notion is comical to the native mind, although indications are not wanting of a tendency to take it seriously. In fact, there are now nearly 1,500 female pupils, all told, in attendance at the Government schools. But the old ideas still linger : it remains a highly unconventional procedure for an Egyptian father to send his daughter to school. Although what we should call a normal school exists, it is as yet too young an institution to have a graduate. Nor, in considering education, should it be overlooked that Egypt has a school of engineering, a school of medicine, a school of agriculture, and a school of technical training. The University of El-Azhar, the great seat of learning of the Moslem world, flourishes at Cairo, of course. It is the resort of all who would perfect themselves in the wisdom of the Koran.

That measures must be taken in Egypt for the suppression of slavery is one of the facts which bring before us the conditions from which the land has emerged. Of course, there exists no slavery in the ordinary, civilized sense, with the exception of a form of domestic slavery that is rapidly disappearing. But the slave-traders from Arabia make incursions into Upper Egypt, and kidnap youths and girls ; conveying them down the Red Sea coast and thence to Jeddah, where they are sold. This traffic is wholly surreptitious ; and the Egyptian Slave-Trade Department exercises constant vigilance toward its suppression.

Lord Cromer says slavery will be surely stamped out within a few years after the organization of the Soudan as a province. Meanwhile, he proposes, first, to limit the demand for slaves, and, second, to cut off the supply. The first method entails the education of native public opinion ; and it has met with encouragement. The second has resulted in the practical stoppage of slave importation.

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The marked personality of the able and conscientious young man now upon the throne of Egypt renders it impossible to leave him out of consideration in any estimate of the present state of the country. As is the case with sovereigns of limited power, His Highness the Khedive rules, but does not govern. Lord Cromer, like Lord Salisbury, may be said to be the responsible minister, although nominally he is but Agent and Consul-General, accredited, as are the representatives of the other foreign Powers, to the Khedive. Unlike Lord Salisbury, he does not govern by the will of a parliament: his authority is that of Great Britain. He finds his efforts greatly aided by the sympathy and enlightened support of the youthful Abbas II, who has earned and possesses so notably the respect and affection of his people. The character of the Khedive seems to be of that type to which the Italians apply the term "simpatico." He is gentle yet self-respecting, serene yet strong, and quite above the pettiness of opposing a policy simply because its advocates are not personally agreeable to him. Abbas II is the possessor of the rare capacity of inspiring regard—I might say affection—in those brought into contact with him; while even the strongest opponents of his policy admit that, at least, the welfare of his country is the height of his ambition. He is exceedingly well educated, from both European and Oriental standpoints, tolerant, receptive of ideas, and progressive. Some men, in Shakespeare's familiar aphorism, "are born great, some achieve greatness, and some have greatness thrust upon 'em." Of Abbas II it may I think be truly said, that, in addition to being born great and to having greatness thrust upon him, he has achieved greatness by his own force of character.

The question of questions concerning Egypt is her future. Will the country become, as India, an acknowledged dependency of Great Britain, or will the present "protected" Khedivial *régime* continue indefinitely? I can only offer my own personal conjecture that neither Viscount Cromer nor the Khedive knows. Both of them may have, they must have, their views as to what would be best; but circumstances will determine Egypt's fate. Manifest destiny appears to point in one direction only; but the literature of England in Egypt is strewn with the wrecks of prophecy.

The one assured thing is Egypt's growing prosperity, based upon great natural resources, wise administration, and a conscientious regard for the welfare of the people.

THOMAS SKELTON HARRISON.

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NAVAL OFFICERS AND COLONIAL ADMINISTRATION.

In an article, entitled "The Conditions of Good Colonial Government," published in the April number of The Forum, Mr. E. L. Godkin contends that it is undesirable to employ officers of the army or the navy in administering a government of that kind. Mr. Godkin's name, as that of an expounder of political philosophy, is regarded—and with reason—so highly in England that it would require more assurance than can be justly imputed to the present writer to attempt to refute his arguments. The author of "Unforeseen Tendencies of Democracy" would be likely, and certainly would be entitled, to smile, were I to try to make his reasoning appear unsound. Nevertheless, I desire to point out a historical error in Mr. Godkin's contention.

On page 196 he says:

> "As to the navy, I have never heard of admirals exercising civil functions ashore for any great length of time, except in Crete, where there were peculiar reasons for their action. Detachment from his ship is tenfold more injurious to a sailor than are civil duties to a soldier. I have been told, in fact, that one great cause of the inefficiency of the Spanish navy was the love of the officers for the land."

No one can hold more strongly than I do that too great a liking for what we sailors call "the shore" threatens to become highly detrimental to naval efficiency. At the same time, it is a simple historical fact that the officers of more than one navy not conspicuously inefficient have been frequently employed, and occasionally for long periods, in colonial administration and in other duties ashore. The early governors of nearly all the more important British colonies were naval officers. During several generations the governorship of Newfoundland and the command of the squadron on the station were held by the same person. After the two offices were separated, officers of the navy long continued to be appointed governors. The last two naval governors, Sir Thomas Cochrane and Sir Henry Prescott, after quitting their governorships, held high commands in the navy,—it has never been suggested with any loss of efficiency.

The first four Australian governors in succession were officers of the navy,—Phillip, Hunter, King, and Bligh. The first lieutenant-

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governor of Van Diemen's Land, under one of the above-named, was Collins of the Marines. The first, and, as is universally admitted, the most distinguished, governor of Malta was Sir Alexander Ball, one of Nelson's captains at the Nile. He held his appointment for eight years. Though not designated by the title of "Governor," the first person to discharge the duties of that office in the then newly acquired colony of Hong Kong was Lord Napier of the navy. Admiral Sir James Stirling was the first governor of Western Australia; and he afterward commanded the squadron in China. The first governor of South Australia was a naval captain—Hindmarsh. The first governor of New Zealand was another—Hobson. Admiral Fitzroy, the eminent explorer and meteorologist, was one of his successors. Sir John Franklin—not usually considered an inefficient officer—was Governor of Tasmania before he commanded the Arctic expedition in which he lost his life. When Victoria became a full government, Sir Charles Hotham, who had recently held a command in the South Atlantic, was appointed to it. Several governors of the Falkland Islands in succession were naval officers. When I was serving in the neighboring seas, the governorship was held by Capt. Moore. Since I first went to sea, Bermuda and St. Helena have had at least one naval governor each. Though, certainly, he had been on the retired list for some time, and had held political office in the mother-country, Sir Robert Duff, who was Governor of New South Wales at the time of his death, in 1895, had reached the rank of commander in the navy before being appointed to that governorship. The Earl of Glasgow, who was Governor of New Zealand till 1897, was a captain in the navy.

From the foregoing it will be seen that the English custom has been to utilize the services of naval officers as governors of colonies, especially in the early stages of their history. When the governments have been definitely organized, and social conditions have reached a certain development,—when, in fact, official existence in the colony has promised to be reasonably agreeable,—other persons have been found ready to assume the duties of governor and have been appointed.

Till a recent date, the same custom prevailed in the French service. The governors of considerable colonies were usually naval officers, who, not infrequently, returned to the navy and held commands in it. I have a most pleasant recollection of the hospitality shown me by the distinguished Admiral Courbet when he was Governor of New Caledonia, before he took command of the squadron in China,

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where he died. His successor in New Caledonia was Admiral Pallu de la Barrière, whose flag I afterward saw flying in the Mediterranean.

It is not only in the French colonial service that naval officers have been employed. Admiral Pothuau, an officer sufficiently distinguished to have a ship named after him, was French Ambassador in London a few years ago. Admiral Jauréguiberry, who also has a ship named after him, was, I believe, French Ambassador in St. Petersburg about the same time. The celebrated English admiral, Sir William Sidney Smith, was Plenipotentiary to the Porte at the close of the last century; and Lord Lyons, who was second in command, and later Commander-in-chief, of the British fleet in the Black Sea during the Crimean War, had been for many years Minister in Greece and Sweden.

It is probable that a moderate amount of research would result in the discovery of many more cases of naval officers serving as governors or diplomatic representatives without detriment to their own or the navy's efficiency. But perhaps instances enough have been adduced in this paper to show that the exercise by naval officers of civil functions ashore, for periods of considerable length, has been frequent.

CYPRIAN A. G. BRIDGE.

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ULTIMATE WORLD-POLITICS.

WHEN we discuss the subject of National Expansion, we should do so in the light of one momentous fact, the greatest, the most profoundly significant, that has ever confronted the human race. It is this—that the movements now in progress are about to settle definitely, for the first time in history, the international relations of the whole earth.

Until now, the extent of the world has been, for all practical purposes, infinite. The empires that have risen and fallen in the past have run their courses in a vague environment without bounds. Hence, they were predestined sooner or later to exhaust themselves and die. Rome added province after province to her dominions ; but with each extension the Roman stock became more diluted, the frontier to be held against the pressure of the mysterious beyond became longer, and the power of resistance became feebler.

There are some fifty million square miles of land on the globe. In the time of Pericles European civilization covered, say, fifty thousand square miles,—about the area of an ordinary American State,—to which the neighboring civilizations of Carthage, Egypt, and Persia added perhaps two million more. Beyond that there were misty visions of kingdoms in India, pygmies and monsters in Africa, wild tribes in Scythia, Germany, and Gaul, and then the darkness of an immeasurable void.

The Roman Empire at its greatest extent embraced about 2,500,000 square miles, outside of which Parthia and then Persia brought within the field of view of European civilization from half a million to a million more. The barbarous tribes and mythical kingdoms beyond stretched, for anything the people of that day knew to the contrary, to infinity.

In the thousand years after the break-up of the Western Empire Europe was a laboratory in which nations were forming. Everything was fluid. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, when the process of nation-building at home was nearly complete, the great discoverers threw open to it new worlds beyond the seas. From that time until

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now the white race has been occupied in extending and settling its rule over distant lands. And now the process is approaching completion. This is the supreme significance of our age. We see taking form, not the Powers in control of some little corner of a continent, to be superseded by some mightier Power from the misty beyond, but final World-Powers, whose jurisdiction will cover the entire earth.

The British Empire, including Egypt and the Soudan, now covers about 12,000,000 square miles, or one-fourth of the land surface of the globe. Of the remaining 36,000,000 square miles, outside of the polar regions, Russia controls 8,664,100—again nearly one-fourth. China, which is about to be divided among England, Russia, France, and Germany, holds a sixth of the rest. More than half of the remainder belongs to the United States, France, Brazil, Turkey, and the Argentine Republic; and the Turkish possessions are fated before long to pass into the hands of stronger Powers. Five-eighths of all the land on the globe already belong to Great Britain, Russia, the United States, France, and Brazil; and, with the impending redistributions in China and Africa, this will be increased to at least three-fourths. The French colonial empire will be held by permission of England, the dominant sea Power; and Brazil, like each of the other South American Republics, will owe the preservation of its independence to the protection of the United States. Thus, the vast bulk of the earth's surface will be controlled by England, the United States, and Russia.

It is obvious that this situation must completely transform the principles of a prudent national policy. In all past ages imperial ambition was certain to overleap itself. The farther the bounds of empire were pushed into the unknown, the greater became the strain of maintaining them, and the more certain an ultimate collapse. Enemies multiplied as frontiers lengthened. The Rome of Cincinnatus had only Latins and Etruscans to fight: the Rome of Trajan was in contact with a hundred threatening tribes and kingdoms. But now the ultimate limits of expansion are definitely fixed and very near. The question is not how far the national bubble can be blown in infinite space before it bursts, but what share each nation will secure in the final distribution of the earth's surface, which will be settled certainly within the next fifty years, perhaps within the next twenty-five.

Some of the elements of this settlement can be clearly foreseen. There is room for only three World-Powers—Great Britain, Rus-

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sia, and the United States. The French colonial empire is an artificial creation that cannot survive the stress of war with a great sea Power. So is that of Germany. The most formidable nations of Continental Europe, outside of Russia, must sink to the rank of second- or third-class Powers. Europe, in the face of the World-Powers of the next century, will exactly reproduce the condition of Greece in the face of Macedon and Rome. The rivalries of France, Germany, and Austria will precisely parallel the rivalries of Athens, Corinth, and Thebes before Chæronea. National power must have a solid basis of population and territorial extent ; and, cramped in a few hundred thousand square miles each, the Continental states must inevitably be dwarfed by the Powers that have had the forethought or the good fortune to spread over the globe.

And how will it be with us? The regions in Asia and Africa which Great Britain already has under mortgage will bring her empire up to not less than 16,000,000 square miles, or one-third of all the land of the earth. Russia has within easy reach, in Turkey, Persia, Central Asia, and China,—not to speak of Europe,—enough territory to raise the total area of her dominions to fully 13,000,000 square miles. What, then, will be our position? Including Hawaii and Puerto Rico, we have 3,613,127 square miles. If we annex the whole of the Philippines, we shall have 3,727,453. We may expect that, sooner or later, Cuba and the rest of the West Indies will gravitate to us. That will give the United States in all something over 3,800,000 square miles. As our national temper does not permit unprovoked aggressions upon our neighbors, there is no other important field of expansion open to us, unless Canada and Mexico should voluntarily cast in their lots with ours. If that should happen, we should have a splendidly compact domain of about 7,900,000 square miles, capable of holding its own under all conceivable conditions. But it would still rank only third in territorial extent. The British Empire, even after Canada had been transferred to our side of the ledger, would still exceed it by fully 60 per cent ; and so would Russia. As a nursery of white men, however, it would be at least equal to either of them.

Another alternative is a reunion of the members of the English-speaking race. That would make us sharers in a dominion of 20,000,000 square miles, commanding all seas, and embracing half the population of the world. Whatever the rest of mankind might do, the people of such a domain would be secure. So far as international relations were concerned, they would have reached the ultimate

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stability: the planet would contain nothing outside their borders that could endanger them.

In default of these resources,—if we neither acquire Canada and Mexico nor unite with our English-speaking kinsmen,—our position under the coming definite world-settlement will be simple. We shall hold a respectable, and even secure, but modest position as the third of the three great Powers. Our territory will be between a fourth and a third of that of Russia, and somewhat less than a fourth of that of the British Empire. All we can pick up in the way of stray islands here and there will be so utterly insignificant, in the presence of the carving of continents that is going on before our eyes, that to dignify it with the name of Imperialism is trifling with words. If we have acquired a few hundred square miles in the Ladrones, a few thousand in Hawaii, or even a hundred thousand or so in the Philippines, we are far from becoming imperial, as that term will be understood in the world-settlement. We are merely reducing in a microscopic degree the inevitable preponderance against us that will exist when the world is permanently partitioned. SAMUEL E. MOFFETT.

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A PARADISE REGAINED—CUBA.

In the March number of The Forum appeared Dr. Felix L. Oswald's weird and startling prophecy of the future of Cuba. The title of his article is "A Lost Eden—Cuba." In the opening paragraph he states that:

"for robber-ridden Cuba the day of rescue has dawned too late. The harpy swarm of irrepressible outlaws . . . have already turned upon its would-be liberators, and for years to come will defeat the efforts of every reformer."

A little further along he says: "Cuba will become a rendezvous of adventurers from all parts of the revolutionary continent," and follows this with the prediction, that "Mexico alone will contribute some fifty shiploads of 'Liberals,' who have been unable to wreck the dictatorship of Porfirio Diaz." In his last paragraph Dr. Oswald completes his grewsome prophecy with the statement, that

"in Eastern Cuba the undulations of the coast-plain will soon resemble a wide-spread sea of verdure. But, for the interests of American civilization, it would perhaps have been better if, like the lost Atlantis, the whole island had disappeared beneath the ocean waves."

I fear that it will be difficult for the reading public—certainly for Cubans—to agree with Dr. Oswald that even the interests of American civilization could demand a seismic disturbance of so serious a nature; while, to most people (both of the island and of the United States) such would be looked upon as an unwarranted calamity. In order to justify his fearful forecast of Cuba's future, Dr. Oswald makes a number of assertions in regard to the country and its people which cannot be verified; and he summons before us a vast array of conditions that are purely imaginary. It is impossible for me to believe that this is a voluntary misstatement on Dr. Oswald's part, his reputation as a man and an author being too well established for that. As the facts do not support his conclusions, it is difficult to imagine what inspired the author's foreboding and hopeless frame of mind; but, apparently convinced of the accuracy of his view-point, he at once marshals a number of historical facts and incidents of other countries, and offers them to us as parallels of the present, and prophetic of the future, con-

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ditions of Cuba. While these may illustrate the author's erudition, they do not serve to establish the logic of his deductions.

Had not this ominous collection of evils occasioned considerable alarm among the large number of American citizens who have already made preparations to establish homes in the island, and caused much pain to the people of Cuba, it would be wiser perhaps to pass the matter by without comment. But, under the circumstances, I feel in duty bound to point out a few of Dr. Oswald's errors. For example :

"The pacification of the Caucasus cost the Russian Government a million men and more than a billion rubles, though the barrenness of the highland often reduced its defenders to a diet of beech-nuts and water ; while the West Indian sierras teem with edible products the year round."

From this we naturally infer that the author considers it probable we shall be compelled to "pacify" the people of Cuba, and that he believes that the vast number of edible products there will support the insurgents to our detriment. He states :

"Of nut-bearing trees alone there are about fifty different species ; of wild grapes, at least a dozen, besides berries, swamp-plantains, mangoes, guavas, carob-beans, and wild pineapples."

The fact is, that there are not half a dozen varieties of nut-bearing trees in Cuba, the cocoanut being the only one worth mentioning. Of wild grapes there are absolutely none : vines are occasionally seen in the woods ; but they bear no fruit which can be eaten. Edible berries are conspicuous by their total absence. Guavas are plentiful in various sections of the island, and mangoes during the months of June, July, and August. Swamp-plantains, carob-beans, and wild pineapples are unknown. There is a plant used as a hedge which closely resembles the pineapple ; but its fruit is used only as a purgative.

In the following paragraph it is stated that :

"One species of quail is not much larger than the sparrow ; while the hocco, or West Indian turkey, is almost too heavy to fly, and defends its eggs against able-bodied serpents. Quadrupeds were originally rather scarce ; but the coast jungles now swarm with half-wild pigs ; and in the uplands imported rabbits have multiplied like our American tramps, and can be seen scampering about the rocks of every wayside ravine."

The only species of quail found in Cuba is almost, if not quite, identical with that of our Southern States, and is very much larger than the sparrow. The only turkey known in Cuba is the common domestic variety of our barnyards. The forests of Cuba, not the coast jungles, were at one time plentifully supplied with "half-wild pigs" ; but the ravages of the late revolution have greatly reduced their numbers. Rabbits have never been imported into Cuba ; and in neither uplands

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nor lowlands can they be found at all. The one quadruped which is characteristic and numerous throughout the entire eastern half of Cuba is the *jutia*, an animal which is indigenous to the island alone and which resembles a cross between our Northern woodchuck and a large rat. It is about the size of an opossum, and lives upon the bark of trees: it is so tame that it may be knocked out of the branches of the trees with stones. The omission of this animal from the fauna of Cuba is one indication of the lack of accurate information in the article under consideration.

After stating that the swarm of irrepressible outlaws of robber-ridden Cuba will take advantage of the vast numbers of caverns which exist in the island, he says: "The limestone rocks of the upper sierras are honeycombed with caverns all the way from Cienfuegos to the south coast." When we consider that the city of Cienfuegos is situated upon the extreme southern coast of Santa Clara Province, it is a little difficult to determine just where Dr. Oswald intended to locate them. However, I am perfectly willing to admit that "there are subterranean labyrinths, where outlaws could hide indefinitely," providing there were outlaws to hide and that they happened to take a fancy to these underground retreats.

Dr. Oswald then proceeds to draw a vivid word picture of an imaginary attack of these outlaws upon American baggage-trains, and states that they "would share the fate of scores of Spanish convoys that have come to grief in the defiles of the foothills." The only Spanish convoys captured in the island of Cuba were taken by the insurgent forces in legitimate warfare. It is impossible to conceive of American baggage-trains or convoys being attacked by the forces of Cuba Libre under any circumstances whatever. Going back to the time of Wellington, he then quotes from Gen. Beresford: "These fellows are so crazily clannish that their alliance cannot be trusted for twenty-four hours"; and he adds: "that experience will repeat itself to the liberators of the West Indies."

"They detest foreigners of all races, and will prevaricate like horse-dealers rather than compromise a fellow-countryman. . . The chiefs of the insurgents will be sure to resent dictation; and in every town under American martial law malcontents will multiply like microbes in a Santiago cistern. The whole island will soon be in a ferment of nativist conspiracies. The Creoles will fraternize with the bushwhacker orators: in the ardor of conservatism they will become pious, like the Bombay slum-alley bullies, who denounce the British health officers in the names of a hundred Hindu saints. Nay, even now the charges of oppression awaken responsive groans all along the coasts of the Caribbean Sea. . ."

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It is true that the people of Cuba are clannish, and that they would probably stand by their own race in a case of serious friction ; but they do not detest all foreigners. On the contrary, they are particularly friendly to and fond of well-meaning and well-behaved Americans. There is no disposition on the part of insurgent chiefs to resent reasonable dictation; nearly all of them, including the Commander-in-Chief, Gen. Gomez, are holding important positions under American occupation at the present moment ; and there is no reason to believe that the "whole island will soon be in a ferment of nativist conspiracies." Nor will they denounce or oppose health officers. Gen. Leonard Wood, Military Governor of the Province of Santiago de Cuba, has already, in his reports to the War Department, commented favorably upon the disposition of the people of that province not only to obey his orders, but to learn and practise the requirements, sanitary, social, and civil, of our *régime* in Cuba.

Gen. Carpenter has made a similar report from the city and province of Puerto Principe, as has the general commanding the American forces in Pinar del Rio. Ex-Chief of Police McCullagh, of New York city, recently returned from the island, has stated that the city of Havana is one of the most orderly communities in the world. The only "groans" that have come from the Cuban coasts of the Caribbean Sea have been very quiet ones, in the shape of protests against drunken colored soldiers of the United States army, the so-called "immunes," who have without invitation insisted upon occupying sofas and hammocks upon the galleries of private residences.

After speaking of the fifty shiploads of freebooters which Mexico alone is to contribute to Cuba, Dr. Oswald says :

"The Cuban bushwhacker chiefs will find work for all comers of that sort. Besides the disciplined, or at least organized, Junta guerillas, there are countless hordes of ragamuffins, or *pelados*, as the Creoles call the unkempt desperadoes that dignify their plundering expeditions by the name of warfare, and extend the imprecations of their *vendetta* to all partisans of law and order.

More incorrigible outlaws never infested the Southern Apennines or the borderland of Islam and Christendom . . . the *pelados* love havoc for its own sake, and would not hesitate to trump up grievances against any patriot who should attempt to enforce the restoration of peace."

It is possible that Mexico may send fifty shiploads of outcasts to Cuba ; but they will find no Cuban bushwhacker chiefs waiting to receive them with open arms. If by "Junta guerillas" Dr. Oswald refers to those Cuban exiles who, through the assistance of the Junta, returned from the United States and other countries to their native

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land to give up their lives in the endeavor to free it from Spanish rule, the reflection upon their character is most unjust and uncalled for. I can think of no others to whom this newly coined term would apply.

As to the "pelados," of whom he speaks, the word is unknown in Cuba, although I believe that it is used in Mexico. The author probably refers to what are known in Cuba as *plateados*, which term is there applied to those unprincipled camp-followers who straggle behind armies in every part of the world, and commit depredations for which the soldiers of the regular army are frequently blamed. Such characters at the beginning of the last revolution were more or less common; but, as the soldiers of both Cuba and Spain had a habit of hanging them on sight, they have become rather scarce, and will give but very little trouble to "the partisans of law and order."

Dr. Oswald further says:

"In the Sierra Mesilla, northeast of Bayamo, the industrial population has almost entirely disappeared under the terror of the freebooters, whose camp-fires can be seen smoking in the summit-glens, and whose constant raids at last ceased to leave the farmers a living-share in their agricultural products. The Cerro de Cobre, some eighty miles further south, is approached only by cattle-hunters with a military escort: travellers who have attempted the passes of the old overland road have rarely returned to tell the results of the all but inevitable encounter with the scouts of the outlaws."

The only industrial population northeast of Bayamo is composed of the small farmers who live along or near the banks of the Cauto River. They are miserably poor, living too far from the coast to carry their produce to a market; consequently they raise only that which they need themselves,—chiefly plantains, beef, and sweet potatoes. These products are so plentiful that any freebooter could have all he wanted simply for the asking; and, since there is absolutely nothing in the country to steal, it is difficult to understand how these farmers failed to have left "a living-share in their agricultural products."

The Sierra del Cobre are being worked quite profitably at the present day by miners of copper; and, although I met only a few weeks ago one of the principal owners in the district spoken of, a man who visits his mines very often,—Dr. Joaquin Castillo, of Santiago de Cuba,—he made no mention of having to take advantage of a military escort, nor of encounters "with the scouts of the outlaws."

In speaking of the next province west, Dr. Oswald says:

"The valley formed by the west fork of the Rio Verde, in the province of Puerto Principe, was long dreaded as a haunt of runaway slaves; and these refugees have now been joined by desperadoes numerous enough to become savagely aggressive. Their neighbors too have abandoned hundreds of farms that can no longer be hoped to repay

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the toil of tillage. In stress of circumstances the outlaws eke out a subsistence by hunting and fishing, but withal continue to extend the range of their marauding expeditions ; and last winter one of their reckless leaders was caught and hanged by a party of exasperated *rancheros* on the charge of having decorated his headquarters den with arabesques of human hands 'nailed up spread-eagle fashion, or like a collection of dried fern leaves.' The total value of the property destroyed by these moss-troopers has been computed to exceed half a billion dollars ; and the list of their murders would resemble the bulletin of a Dahomey war-chief."

In the first place, there is no Rio Verde in the province of Puerto Principe or, for that matter, in the island of Cuba; nor was there any spot in that province ever dreaded as a haunt of runaway slaves. I have within the past year travelled over every mountain range in that province, and penetrated every cave of its hills ; I have ridden over every league of its most secluded forest trails, frequently alone, never with more than one guide; and I have yet to meet the first freebooter, outlaw, robber, runaway slave, or highwayman, or to hear of him from people living in that country. As my business compelled me to spend nearly all of the past year in that particular province, and as during the whole time I did not hear of the hanging of the outlaw leader who decorated his den with arabesques of human hands, I am forced to the conclusion that the story is most improbable.

More than all, an American girl, Miss Mary C. Francis, who carried a United States flag, with letters from Senator J. B. Foraker, of Ohio, to President Maso, of the late Provisional Government of Cuba, then located at La Esperanza, in the Cubitas Mountains, amused herself by riding hundreds of miles in the interior and through the most inaccessible portions of the province of Puerto Principe, accompanied only by a Cuban woman, a few companions, and a *practico*. According to her official reports, she had no experiences to regret.

In speaking of the destruction of a half a billion dollars' worth of property by "moss-troopers," Dr. Oswald can only refer to the work of the insurgent army, which I think the world at large has justified. But when he says that a list of their murders would resemble the bulletin of a Dahomey war-chief, I am at a loss to understand his meaning. If the killing of Spanish soldiers by the Cuban insurgents in their effort to obtain independence was murder, what then should be termed the destruction, by Gen. Weyler, of half a million *reconcentrados*, most of whom were women and children ? The author admits that "the total population of the island has dwindled from two millions to less than one million and a quarter"; but I am sure that he does not attribute this decrease to the roving bandits who "have steadily in-

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creased" so portentously during the last half decade. All the world knows what has depopulated Cuba.

Immediately following his description of the increase in numbers and audacity of the roving bandits since 1878, and particularly during the past five years, Dr. Oswald makes the statement that:

"Thousands of merchants, depending upon the custom of the country population, have been beggared; and since the close of the Spanish campaigns—practically discontinued at the beginning of the present year—the condition of affairs in the rural districts may be described in the words of an Armenian traveller: 'The freebooters are numerous enough to keep the settlements poor; while here and there the richness of the soil continues to attract new settlers.' That attraction, too, will gradually cease; and the few remaining planters will have to garrison their *haciendas*. Country produce has to be smuggled cityward under cover of cloudy nights, unless the farmer prefers to pay blackmail on every acre of his growing harvest."

These are very serious charges, to say the least, and are calculated to discourage any one who might contemplate making Cuba his future home. Fortunately, the above frightful condition of affairs exists only in Dr. Oswald's imagination. It is true that many merchants in Cuba have been beggared or compelled to quit business, but not through depredations committed by freebooters upon them or upon the country people on whose custom they depend. Since the termination of the rainy season last fall the small country farmers have had neither time, seed, nor implements with which to cultivate new crops for the market. In most instances that which they have raised has been needed and used for their own consumption. The condition described by the Armenian traveller does not exist in Cuba; nor will it ever exist there. The only element whose depredations we may ever have reason to fear will be that class of renegade Cubans who, liberated from prisons and penal colonies, were employed by Spain, and known as guerillas. These conscienceless fiends committed every crime known to civilized or uncivilized warfare. Loathed by the Spaniard and the Cuban alike, it is possible that they may take to the mountains as a means of self-defence. It will not be for purposes of gain, because there is absolutely nothing for them to steal. I have no hesitancy in saying that there is no part of the island of Cuba in which the person and property of the citizen are not much safer than those of the ordinary traveller in Southern Missouri or Northern Arkansas, to say nothing of some portions of Chicago or New York city.

In travelling between the commands of different Cuban generals during 1895–97, I rode many thousands of miles on horseback through the wildest and most inaccessible portions of the interior of the coun-

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try. I seldom had an escort of more than six men, and frequently rode alone, or with one *practico*, from one side of the island to the other. Although usually possessed of an equipment which would have tempted any freebooter, I was never once intercepted, molested, or robbed of the smallest article ; nor did I ever hear of any one else being even threatened by highwaymen. Only when in the vicinity of Spanish columns did I ever maintain a guard at night.

During 1898, while acting in the capacity of special envoy between the Provisional Government of Cuba and the Administration at Washington, I was compelled to cross the Cubitas Mountains and the wildest portion of the province of Puerto Principe. My mission was well known throughout the country, and by some I was supposed to carry large sums of money about me; but the only apprehension I ever endured was the fear of lack of food on the way.

And, finally, Dr. Oswald supplements his array of two-footed criminals and thieves with four-footed pests. He says :

"And what the *pelados* have done for agriculture, swarms of ownerless curs threaten to do for the stock-farmers of the western sierras. In the eastern provinces cattle-raising has almost wholly ceased ; and sheep-breeders might as well try their luck among the hunger-crazed aborigines of Tierra del Fuego. . . The increase of these four-footed freebooters has now come to defy control. They have spread from the foothills up to the highlands, and down to the coast-jungles of the plain; and the yelps of their coöperative hordes may be heard waking the echoes of the wilderness whenever a cow strays beyond the shelter of well-fenced *ranchos*. They, too, will continue to multiply ; and all Cuba will soon meet the doom of a body infested with myriads of destructive and medication-defying microbes."

It is quite true that in the eastern provinces cattle-raising has almost entirely ceased ; but this is not owing to the incursions of wild dogs, as he seems to intend us to infer. The people of those great grazing provinces are only waiting until they can obtain breeding cows to replace the vast herds which during the past four years have been eaten by the forces of both Cuba and Spain. As for the sheep-breeders of whom he speaks, there never were such either in the province of Santiago de Cuba or that of Puerto Principe: in fact, there are but very few, if any, in the whole island. Sheep, when introduced there, soon lose their wool, which is replaced by a kind of thin, silky, useless hair. I have never seen a dozen head of sheep on the island; and, where sheep are raised at all, it is only in the hope of adding a little variety to the table in the shape of an occasional piece of mutton.

As to wild dogs, I myself have never met one; and although I have made many inquiries, I have yet to find the Cuban who has even heard

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of them. Las Casas wrote, in the sixteenth century, of a variety of wild, mute dogs existing in the island; but up to the present time no one else has succeeded in discovering a specimen.

After studying the island of Cuba, its people, and its commercial possibilities, it is impossible for me to agree with Dr. Oswald in his conclusion, that it "would perhaps have been better if, like the lost Atlantis, the whole island had disappeared beneath the ocean waves." On the contrary, I feel confident that Cuba will prove a veritable agricultural Klondyke, and that more dollars will be taken from its soil in coming years than will ever be dug from that El Dorado of the North. The people of Cuba, particularly the common or country folk, are sober, honest, industrious, and hard-working; and, as far as my experience (which has been considerable) goes, they are very trustworthy. They are most kindly disposed toward the American, and naturally look upon him not only as a liberator, but as an example to be studied and followed as far as lies within their limited abilities. Of the intelligent, cultured, travelled Cuban I can simply say, that he is the equal of that class of citizen of any nation.

The former element made up the rank and file of the insurgent army: the latter naturally furnished most of the officers, over three thousand of whom had been educated in the colleges and universities of the United States. We may be quite sure that they themselves will not indulge in looting; nor is there any reason to believe that they would long tolerate the presence of freebooters or banditti, particularly when they can rely upon the United States to assist them in stamping out such human parasites, should they ever become troublesome.

Cuba's delightful climate, her wonderfully fertile soil, her vast forests, her valuable woods—to say nothing of the unexplored mineral wealth of the eastern provinces—are attracting and will continue to attract not only an unlimited amount of American and English capital, but a large emigration from the United States of farmers seeking a more congenial clime, a spot where they will not be compelled to work eighteen hours a day for six months in the year in order to furnish themselves with food and fuel during the other six.

In spite of Dr. Oswald's gloomy prediction, I am confident that within the next ten years the value per acre of Cuba's commercial products will exceed that of any other spot in the known world, and that, instead of looking upon the island as a lost Eden, we shall be able to regard her as a Paradise regained. GEORGE RENO.

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DOMESTIC SERVICE: THE RESPONSIBILITY OF EMPLOYERS.

THE history of domestic service in the Northern States of this country naturally divides itself into three distinct periods: the Colonial, during which domestic service was performed by Redemptioners, Indians, and Negroes; the period from the Revolution to the Civil War, when native American women formed the majority of domestics; and the period since the Civil War, during which the native Americans have been rapidly superseded by Irish, German, Swedish, and Canadian girls.

In the Colonial period the relations of master and servant were regulated in detail by law. On the one hand, the master could not sell the services of the servant without the latter's consent, was bound to provide him with wholesome and sufficient food, lodging, and clothing, and was required to care for him in illness. The master suffered severe penalties if he committed any bodily injury upon the servant. On the other hand, the master was protected by heavy penalties against servants who ran away, and against persons who harbored them. In some States servants could not carry firearms, could not marry without consent, and could not dress above their station.

These laws applied equally to men- and women-servants, and were in harmony with the spirit of English service. The Redemptioners, who chiefly constituted this class, were persons convicted of misdemeanors or vagrancy in England,—an inferior class, therefore, and one creating incessant difficulty. With the end of the Revolution and the cessation of the system of convict transportation, the supply of Redemptioners was cut off. The idea of absolute equality embodied in the Declaration of Independence, and the wide-spread spirit of democracy made it natural that the native Americans who took their places should be treated as equals and as members of the family. The relation of master and servant was succeeded by that of mistress and help. Mistress and maid worked side by side. The help sat at the family table, shared the family pleasures, was married and often dowered

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as a daughter of the household. This has been called "the golden era of domestic coöperation."

Yet even then there were some who still preferred the traditional, obsequious service of the Old World, and who complained of the independence of democratic help. Wherever wealth was sufficient, European servants were still much sought. With the rapid increase of wealth and, consequently, of luxurious modes of living, about the middle of this century, the caste line between mistress and maid became more distinct. The social inferiority of European servants made Americans fear to enter domestic service lest they, too, should fall under the social ban. With the enormous immigration of Irish and German women between 1840 and 1860, an abundant supply of domestics was provided to take the place of the native-born American women who were finding employment in factory industries and in the ready-made clothing trades. Then began that industrial suction which has drawn off the American woman and brought in the foreigner to replace her. To the mistress who preferred the aristocratic traditions of European service, these immigrant women were a great relief: they were industrious, loyal, stable, and, above all, "knew their places." As more and more occupations have been opened to working-women, such as shop labor, typewriting, telegraphy, etc., the more intelligent and independent American women have chosen these in preference to domestic service; and now we are confronted with the fact that the more intelligent foreign-born women also are leaving domestic service for these occupations.

In country districts and in the cities of the Middle West there exists, to some extent, the older system of help; but in all cities and suburban districts in the Eastern and Far Western States the European traditions of service prevail. These are not identical with those of Ireland, Germany, England, Japan, and China; they have been indeed much modified by the democratic atmosphere; but the spirit of them is retained. It may, perhaps, be expressed in the fact that an American housekeeper wants *a servant, not an employee*. Three results of the conflicting and unsettled standards are very marked: (1) the competence of domestics is steadily declining; (2) the stigma attaching to domestic service grows constantly stronger; and (3) the relations of housekeeper and maid become more and more strained.

The competence of domestics is declining chiefly because the more competent, intelligent, and independent working-women are being drawn off into other occupations. The three classes of occupations

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which compete successfully with domestic service are factory labor, shop labor, and lower-grade teaching. In each of these there is an over-supply of labor ; while in domestic employments there is generally an under-supply. What, then, are the relations of employer and employee in these occupations which are proving so attractive ; and what are the economic and social conditions connected therewith ?

In the early part of this century the theory of *laissez faire* widely prevailed among economists and manufacturers in England. It was thought that every manufacturer was the best judge of his own business, and that he would pursue it to his own best advantage. The condition of women and children in factories and mines became an unspeakable horror : inordinate hours, unsanitary conditions, extreme cruelty, and neglect were the result of self-interest, indifference, and irresponsible power. It required thirty years of incessant struggle to establish a ten-hour working-day and decent sanitary accommodations. The movement to curtail the rights of the employer has steadily gained ground both in England and in America, until in Massachusetts women may not work in factories more than fifty-eight hours per week ; while inspection of sanitary conditions is growing more and more rigid.

Owing to the isolation of small retail stores, and the small number of women employed in them, the tendency to limit the power and fix the responsibility of the employer has been somewhat delayed in development. So soon, however, as great department-stores and the spread of the sweating system made the abuses of shop labor conspicuous, the public began to demand legislation which should fix the responsibility of the employer for the condition of those employed by him. Much agitation has resulted in a diminution of working-hours, as in Boston, where the average working-day for women in twenty-four of the best shops is nine and one-half hours long. It has brought about, too, the provision of decent toilet-rooms, seats behind counters, and other minor improvements.

In lower-grade teaching, abuses of the sort common to shop and factory labor have never been so serious ; yet even here there has been increasing curtailment of the working-hours, and regulation of sanitary conditions. In all occupations carried on under State and municipal franchises the same tendency is becoming more and more marked.

These instances are sufficient to illustrate the principle now granted alike by employers and economists ; viz., that the employer

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must be held responsible for tolerable working-hours and decent sanitary accommodations. The employer of labor in large masses, the manufacturer, or the merchant, is no longer justified by the theory of self-interest. He is more and more severely limited by law, by labor organizations, and by the conditions of competition : social opinion has fastened upon him a certain responsibility for the condition of his workers.

The industries which have not yet come under the influence of this movement are generally those in which workers are isolated in small groups. In such occupations neither public opinion nor the employees themselves have yet brought any effective pressure to bear on employers. The first of these is domestic labor, in which competition alone limits the power of the employer. No legislation, no pressure of organized labor, has attempted to regulate the hours of the working-day of the domestic or the sanitary conditions of her surroundings, or to enlarge the field of her social and intellectual privileges. The responsibility for all these conditions rests with the individual mistress, except as limited by competition. As a consequence, the field of responsibility is neither understood nor clearly defined. Hours, wages, living conditions, and social privileges depend on the caprice, the convenience, or the bank account of the employer. One mistress requires from eight to ten hours of service per day, and gives complete freedom to the maid for all the time after work is done, besides the usual weekly and Sunday "afternoon and evening out" ; another requires twelve hours of service per day, and gives no free time except one afternoon weekly and Sunday evening ; and still another requires thirteen hours of daily service, giving only one afternoon in alternate weeks and on alternate Sundays. As to wages, a similarly wide variation prevails. Four families living in one neighborhood are of the same social set, and have incomes not varying one from another by more than $500 a year. Each keeps one maid. Mrs. A, with no children, pays $25 per month, puts all the washing out, requires never more than ten hours' daily service, and gives absolute freedom the rest of the time. Mrs. B, with three children, also pays $25, requires the maid to do most of the washing and to take care of the children in the evening when the mistress goes out. Mrs. C, with four children and much sickness in the family, pays $20 for indefinitely long hours of service, and requires the maid to do a large family washing and to help with the children. Mrs. D, with no children, also pays $20, has very little company, puts the washing out, and has light work. The last-named,

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however, finds it exceedingly difficult to keep a maid at all, because she supervises every detail, not only of the work, but of the maid's private life as well, and, although thoroughly kind, is excessively fastidious.

As for living conditions, these vary as widely as the caprices of the plumber and the domestic architect. One house has two single rooms with bathroom between, on the third floor, for the two maids; another, an attic, cold in winter, hot in summer, shabby, and comfortless. One offers a good bed and neat bedding; another, a bed without springs, and bedding so unsavory that the cook buys her own, and thereafter carries it with her. One house has a good kitchen range, convenient sink, sanitary plumbing, and a well-equipped laundry; the other, a balky and gassy range, no laundry, and a dark, ill-ventilated kitchen.

As to social privileges, there is no limit to the variations of practice. One maid is allowed to have a man friend to visit her once a week; the second may have "no followers at all"; the third may have as many and at whatever hours she chooses. One maid must be in every night at ten; the next may go out only once a week and must be in at ten; the third has a latch-key and may keep her own hours. Many similar illustrations might be cited to show the chaotic and conflicting requirements of both mistresses and maids. Each mistress and each maid is a law unto herself, without regard either to the general interest of the community or the requirements in other industries. It is apparent that we are in all stages of transition between the ideal of the old-fashioned American help, on the one hand, and that of the deferential European service, on the other; and neither is adapted to the economic and social conditions of modern American life.

A new ideal is inevitable,—a standard which shall harmonize with the tendencies in other industries, which shall share the democratic spirit developed in this country and which shall take into account the race constituency of the American people. The social standard of domestic service in the Far West, where Chinese and Japanese domestics are employed, or in the Southern States, where the Negro is the only help available, must differ widely from that which should prevail in the Eastern and Central Northern States.

In discussing what is necessary to the formation of this new standard of responsibility and requirement, it must be conceded that the responsibility of the employers of domestic labor is not only greater,

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but more difficult of definition, than that of the employers of women in other kinds of labor. So long as the domestic lives in the house, both her privileges and the housekeeper's obligations must be modified by personal and family considerations. Doubtless, this initial difficulty is partly the cause of the belated conditions of household service. The welfare, the habits, even the whims, of the family must be paramount to the comfort and convenience of the employee. She is in the household, but not of it ; a vital part of its serenity and ease, but always wholly subordinated to it. On the other hand, the patriarchal traditions of service lead the mistress to attempt to control the private life of the maid as though she were really a member of the family. The mistress still insists upon the subordination of the servants to the family ; but she is no longer willing to give them the compensation which they formerly had. The old-time servants, whether European or American, found, in quite different ways, family affection, sympathy, protection : loyalty and attachment were mutual, not one-sided. All this has gone by. Neither mistress nor servant wishes to restore it ; but neither wishes to give up the advantages which were incident to it.

The minute regulation and admonition which many mistresses still feel obliged to insist upon are the survival both of the mediæval tie of feudal obligation and of that semi-filial relation between mistress and maid which characterized the era of domestic help in America. Prof. Salmon, of Vassar College, proposes, therefore (in her book on "Domestic Service"), as the first remedy for domestic chaos, the elimination of the maid from the household. This is generally declared to be quite impracticable by the average housekeeper ; but when one has seen the system in operation in the West, where the social requirements and family habits are similar to those in other parts of our country, one can no longer think it so impracticable. In the Hawaiian Islands and in California, wherever Chinese or Japanese servants are employed, they live out of the house in adjacent cottages. Indeed, the continual presence of employees in the house would be considered a great inconvenience. They come in the morning and go at night when work is done, as any casual employee might do. Domestic service in these regions is more efficient and satisfactory than elsewhere. With such a system, no supervision of the private life of the employee is necessary.

But, however practicable in some localities, and however desirable this system may be, it must be acknowledged that few housekeepers

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are willing to adopt it. Those who continue to keep the maid in the house, therefore, will still incur a certain responsibility not only for her conduct, but for her happiness and comfort as well.

While, however, the sense of individual responsibility should be deepened, the authority of the employer must necessarily be lessened. The mistress of a house should no longer be an autocrat : she ought not to determine the hours, conditions, or privileges of the maid from an exclusively personal point of view. To paraphrase Prof. Salmon : She must no longer regulate wages by her bank account, hours of labor by her personal caprice, and questions of rights and morals solely by her own convenience. In no other occupation in which so large a number of women is engaged does the employer have so much personal option. In manufacture, in shop labor, in teaching, there is, in a given community, at least a common basis of understanding between employer and employee. In certain grades of establishments wages and hours of labor vary within very narrow limits, and change only gradually with the fluctuations of trade and the demands of the public.

The inconsistencies, the injustice on both sides, and the wide variations of practice in household service, are the result of the attempt to maintain a feudal system, quite outgrown, and of the attempt of individual employers and employees to demand all they can get and to resist all they can. Domestic employers are at the mercy of perfectly unregulated competition. As a consequence, they get in their kitchens the least competent, the least intelligent, and the least self-respecting of all the women in the labor market. It is a fact of serious significance, that wages in domestic service are higher than in any of the competing industries. It has been shown that the wages of domestics are higher than the average salaries of Cambridge school-teachers, and that wages are steadily rising in this occupation. Yet, when one listens to the plaint of the housekeeper, one would almost suppose that the higher the wages, the poorer the service. Certainly, the plain fact must be acknowledged : domestic service, however highly paid, fails to compete with other occupations in attractiveness. As has been said, neither the law nor labor organizations nor even competition will solve the problem. It remains for the intelligent employers of domestic labor to ascertain why domestic service is so persistently avoided ; and it also rests with them to put that service upon some basis on which it can successfully compete with other occupations.

What, then, are the objections which intelligent and competent

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women make to household service? Let the mistress ask herself, if she had a poor relative or *protégée*, who knew how to do nothing well except housework, why she would object to her going out as housemaid or cook in her neighbor's house? Why would the woman herself prefer to learn the dressmaker's or the tailor's trade, or to make linen collars, or to stand behind the counter? Women are continually saying to each other, over afternoon tea, that they should think a woman would *prefer* domestic service to earning her living in these other ways. But would the mistresses themselves prefer it, if they had to choose? Do the better class of working-women prefer it? How many women are there in domestic service who are capable of getting out of it? These are the questions which earnest, conservative, thoughtful housekeepers must answer truthfully before any permanent reform can be brought about.

Attention has been called to the contrast both in number and regularity of hours between domestic service and factory labor. The working-day of both men and women in all kinds of manual labor has been steadily tending to ten hours, and in many occupations has fallen to eight. Domestic labor must conform to this tendency. But of far more importance is the *irregularity* of hours. In shop and factory, however hard or even long the hours may be, there is always a definite end to them. Six o'clock to such employees means absolute personal freedom until the next day's work begins. Most good housekeepers here will reply that household hours *must* be irregular; that late dinners, the care of children, proper attention to guests, and the answering of the door-bell are not to be compassed by six o'clock, nor reduced to uniformity every day in the week. It may be granted that it will take much planning and some alteration—perhaps sacrifice—of social conventions and family habits; but it must be done, if service is to compete with other occupations. If we want intelligent women in the household, we must give them as good or better conditions than they can get elsewhere. The maid who must be on duty in the evening can be given an equivalent number of hours of time absolutely her own, in the afternoon. The household with one general maid of all work can refrain from such elaboration of living as would demand the service of two. The household routine can be so intelligently planned as to reduce the variation of hours to less than one hour per day.

But, after drawing this unfavorable contrast between domestic labor and other occupations in regard to hours and regularity, it must

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still be acknowledged that these are, after all, the *least* of its disadvantages. Of all the causes which make domestic service one of the least desirable occupations, the social stigma is undoubtedly the most operative. It is usual to say that this social inferiority comes from the fact that domestic labor is a personal service. It is true, certainly, that personal services come nearer to being truly menial in ordinary estimation than any other sort of labor ; yet in themselves they are less enervating, less coarse, than many other forms of labor. They admit of considerable daintiness of person, of association with people of intelligence and good breeding, and do not necessarily involve great hardship or exposure.

It is one of the most extraordinary inconsistencies of a democratic society that the dressmaker, the milliner, the shopwoman may demand a certain respectful treatment, while the waitress and the cook must accept the treatment accorded only to menials. Much of this is explained by the traditions of feudal servility, from which nearly all classes of labor, except household service, have been emancipated. A deeper cause, however, is the liking of human nature to command its inferiors. Women especially do not want intelligent equals to serve them : they want an inferior, a subordinate—*a servant, not an employee.* Compare the attitude of the business man toward an employee, and the attitude of the mistress toward the servant. Because there is this indefinable social stigma attaching to service, intelligent, self-respecting women shun it : because self-respecting women shun it, the social stigma increases. Cause and effect are reciprocal. The fact of social inferiority is expressed in many petty ways,—by the use of the Christian name, by the requirement of livery when not on duty, by a servile manner, and, more than all, by the social isolation. Every other class has its amusements, every other girl her opportunity for suitable marriage ; but the maid-servant must go out of doors to be entertained or to be courted. Some of this is due to the low social standard of domestics as a class ; but much more of it is to be attributed to the notions of the mistress. The social ban extends to every stratum of society : the petty tradesman will marry a sewing-girl, a shop-girl, a tailoress, but not a " hired " girl ; the working-girls' clubs admit all kinds of respectable women to their membership except the domestic. Socially, the domestic is tabooed, ignored, slighted by every class except the day-laborer.

We are accustomed in the United States to think that social distinctions are of consequence only among the classes where wealth,

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breeding, and education set the lines of demarcation. The fact is, however, that the lower in the scale of intelligence, the more sharply marked are the lines, and the more conventional the judgment. Who is to change all this? Doubtless, the maid herself, by efficiency, dignity, and good sense, can climb to the upper grade of her own class and may attain to the society of sewing-girls and working-families of established position and reputation. More could be done by the intelligent mistress toward elevating the quality and character of domestic service, by respectful recognition of the maid's individuality and aspirations. It can cost the mistress, whose social position is a known quantity, nothing but sympathetic appreciation, nothing but the effort of putting herself in the other woman's place, to help the maid to a place somewhat above the lowest in the social scale. Would it in any wise lower the dignity of the mistress to call the maid "Mrs." or "Miss"? Is there any logical reason why the cap and the apron should not be removed as soon as the work is done? The policeman, the conductor, the porter, and the waiter doff their uniforms so soon as work is done; yet some mistresses require the maid to wear her livery on the street, as a sort of badge of servitude. But more galling than all is that attitude which is commonly called "keeping her in her place," by which it is meant to say: "Let no one suppose that this person has anything in common with me!" The atmosphere of condescension is more intolerable than any livery or any cognomen. This atmosphere is created by the employer, and can only be dispelled by her. If the employer treats the domestic respectfully, very shortly other people will do likewise. One maid objected seriously to being called by her first name by every butcher's and grocer's boy: her mistress, appreciating this sense of self-respect, referred to her in the presence of tradesmen as "Miss ——." Within three months the maid was "Miss" to all the people with whom she dealt.

As compared with other occupations, still another drawback may be mentioned. To irregularity of hours and social stigma is added lack of personal independence. The reminiscence of patriarchal conditions still makes the conscientious mistress attempt to guide and regulate the private life of her maids. Even when off duty, their freedom is often not real freedom. If one compares the freedom of the factory-girl, the shop-girl, the sewing-girl, who may go and come, live and eat, visit and receive visitors, when off duty, without any kind of supervision, it is evident enough why domestics grow more and more independent, or leave the occupation altogether. The age

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of household tutelage of servants is past. The domestic, like every other employee, must have freedom from personal interference when off duty. Whatever is done for manners or morals must be done, as for other working-girls, by establishing friendly relations with them, and by winning them to more refined conceptions of life.

The want of rational social pleasures and of opportunity for self-education is the result of all the conditions just discussed, to which must be added the one most fatal of all ; viz., the want of aspiration. With the improvement of other conditions, this will remedy itself. But the desire for some social and intellectual recreation may be stimulated through clubs, books, and amusements. To all these the mistress can at least contribute the stimulus of her own culture and friendly interest.

Much that has been suggested will be looked upon as "indulgence" or "privilege," tending still further to demoralize the employee. To this no objection is made ; for if such modifications of relations are granted grudgingly, in that spirit, they had much better not be granted at all. The employer must endeavor to find out what social justice is in this case, and then practise it, not as a concession or condescension, but as a fulfilment of social responsibility. Self-preservation alone would dictate some measures by which intelligence and competence could be secured in the household. The whole tendency of modern industry is to fix social responsibility more and more definitely for those conditions which can be made tangible. The special difficulty in household service lies in the fact that these conditions cannot be made perfectly tangible. But the employer has the initiative at least, and may, therefore, hasten and ease the process of establishing a more definite basis of understanding.

With the establishment of regular hours, decent living conditions, social respect, and independence, there should be a severer oversight of labor. The employer who lets poor work go unnoticed, who tolerates less than the maid's best performance, does her an irreparable injury. Very few people—even those of thorough education—are capable of doing their best without the continual stimulus of criticism and appreciation. Skill is the result of repeated efforts to do one's best. Housework is so monotonous and uninteresting in its details that only continuous pressure on the part of a wise and exacting mistress can make it seem worth while. Any drudgery becomes bearable, if those for whom it is done are interested and appreciative. Therefore, the lazy and incompetent mistress is far more culpable than the lazy

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and incompetent maid. To be a good mistress—critical, firm, exacting, and always appreciative of any conscientious effort—requires intelligence, training, and a sense of duty. Every irresponsible mistress makes life more difficult for every other mistress and maid. To shirk responsibility by accepting poor work for good, by granting unreasonable demands, by paying higher wages than the employee earns, is to commit a social sin. But let every mistress be very sure she understands the degree of her own responsibility for the conditions which exist, and what is social justice, *before* she sets up a standard of more exacting service.

Most women of my acquaintance are interested in church work, in foreign missions, in children's hospitals, in social and literary clubs, in settlements, in public schools and education: every woman acknowledges that the problems of domestic service are difficult, and that they involve the welfare of the family fundamentally. It is the old story: education is important in proportion as it has nothing to do with life. Philanthropy is urgent in proportion to its distance and novelty. Every kind of drudgery or duty is more tolerable than our own.

But, if charity begins at home, much more does domestic reform. Let every mistress study the causes of her own difficulties and of her maid's incompetence: let her read—not to find fault, but to learn—the literature of the subject. Let her discuss with her neighbors the principles which should underlie the relations of employer and employed. Let her flee, as from an intellectual pestilence, the personal reminiscence—when women get together and have an "experience" meeting, beginning with "My last girl did so and so," and ending by pitying themselves and learning nothing. Above all, let every mistress know her business thoroughly, that she may be a firm, conscientious, just employer as well as a domestic reformer. Nowhere does the social duty of those who have education, opportunity, and character press more urgently than in the household, to which the untrained, the ignorant, and the careless come.

MARY ROBERTS SMITH.

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AMERICAN ARCHITECTURE FROM A GERMAN POINT OF VIEW.

UNTIL a few years ago, it was regarded as almost an axiom in Germany that, although sadly lacking in artistic features, American architecture was worthy of consideration from the constructive and practical point of view. Indeed, the eminently practical conception and solution of new architectural problems in the United States evoked general admiration; and our American colleagues excited our envy because of the complete freedom of development which they enjoyed in the elaboration of their architectural ideas. The artistic result, however, rarely met with our approval. Finally, when, owing to the rapidly increasing business interests of America, the huge office-buildings appeared, they were regarded as curiosities which, from the artistic standpoint, could only occasion a smile of amusement.

All this, however, has gradually changed. At the beginning of the eighties, illustrations were occasionally submitted to us of private dwellings whose unique and original character at once excited a deep interest. Was this wholesome contrast to the former rigid and purely utilitarian form due to a more harmonious grouping of the several parts? Or was the effect perhaps attributable to features reminiscent of some of our own time-honored European structures? In either case, the fact is indisputable, that the improved condition of architecture in the United States since the close of the last decade has created a complete revolution in German professional circles regarding the status of America in this branch of art.

This revolution is, in a great measure, due to the fact that since 1882 a technical specialist has been attached to the German Embassy at Washington; and the published reports of this expert have undoubtedly tended largely to direct the attention of technical circles in Germany to American architectural art. A still more powerful factor, however, was the opportunity for personal observation afforded by the Columbian Exposition. We Germans flattered ourselves with the hope that, by virtue of the extraordinary influence which the historic styles

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of architecture had obtained among us, the active participation of Europe in the World's Fair would tend to exert a powerful artistic stimulus on architectural art in America; and the general plan of the "White City," as well as the construction of the principal buildings,—so closely modelled on classical forms,—was interpreted by us as the dawning of a new era of American art. Of the numerous architects who visited the World's Fair in 1893 there were probably but few who did not find that the display exceeded their expectations. I am certain, however, that all of them must have gained the conviction that the United States was capable of producing not only good practical builders, but thoroughly artistic architects as well.

Upon their return from abroad, our countrymen favored us with numerous descriptions and illustrations concerning architectural art in America; and all who were not engrossed solely by the older styles, and who were capable of a lively appreciation of contemporaneous art, were forced to the recognition that the youthful States of America offered a fruitful soil for the development of architecture,—that, in fact, the evidences of growth which had already appeared gave promise of a brilliant future, and already constituted phenomena worthy of our serious consideration.

The careful attention with which the achievements of our American colleagues are followed was recently evidenced in a very striking manner by the publication of the work entitled, "New Buildings in North America."[1] In this work the various phases of American architecture are represented by magnificent plates, showing the ground-plans and interiors of some of the finest specimens of modern American buildings. Private dwellings, business structures, railway stations, churches, club-houses, and public buildings,—all are here represented. The selections are made from twelve cities of the Union; and it is scarcely necessary to add that they represent only a small portion of the new buildings erected. The above-mentioned work suffices, nevertheless, to give the reader a fairly accurate idea of the variety and originality of modern American architecture.

The influence of such publications upon the development of German art has been noticeable for some time, more particularly as regards private dwellings. It is revealed also in the fact that several of our architects have not been satisfied with pictorial illustrations, but have actually gone to the United States to study more closely the unique conceptions of their American colleagues. Many, whose

[1] "Neue Bauten in Nordamerika," by PAUL GRAEF. Berlin: Julius Becker.

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studies were formerly confined to the ancient buildings of Germany, France, Italy, and Spain, now find it expedient to devote a few months to the study of the most modern productions of the art in America. This is one of the greatest successes which the Chicago Exposition has to record. Prior to 1873, a trip to America, for the purpose of architectural study, would have been considered positively ridiculous. To-day, such a trip is regarded in an entirely different light; and whoever has beheld the American architect at his cheerful labor can readily understand the enthusiasm with which our German colleagues recommend a visit to the United States. In order to describe and analyze the impressions produced by American architecture upon an unprejudiced German observer, it will be necessary to devote a few preliminary words to the general conditions affecting the erection of buildings—such as the planning of streets, the building laws, the domestic and commercial life of the community, and the selection of material.

Rapidly growing communities always manifest great building activity; and a certain degree of prosperity attendant upon this circumstance usually produces a desire for artistic embellishment. That these conditions now prevail in nearly every city of the United States is at once revealed by the general architectural aspect of the country. The architecture of each city not only furnishes a record of its history, but also depicts the various changes and modifications due to the spirit of the time. Cities like Chicago, where this growth has been of quite phenomenal rapidity, stand as sufficient evidence of the spirit of an epoch. In the majority of the great cities of Europe, however, where the process of development has been one of centuries, it is possible to detect uniform characteristics only in certain districts. Thus we see that not a single building can deny the history of its origin; while groups of buildings, the plans of streets, and every feature which contributes to the general architectural physiognomy, are the unmistakable evidences of their time. For this reason, we nowhere find modern life, with its bustle and extraordinary commercial activity, so clearly expressed, architecturally speaking, as in the great cities of America.

The architectural physiognomy of a city like Chicago is as strikingly characteristic of modern times as certain well-preserved districts of Nuremberg, Hildesheim, and Augsburg are representative of the past. An architectural comparison between Chicago and Hildesheim would at once reveal, with extreme fidelity as to details, the

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difference between modern and mediæval modes of life. In Chicago we have equidistant streets crossing at right angles, and planned without regard to water-courses ; houses from six to twenty stories in height ; and modern buildings which, though they have scarcely outlived a generation, are yet designated as "very old." In the ancient German cities, on the other hand, we find by-ways full of nooks and corners, unequal in width and uneven in surface ; trim little wooden houses, crooked and slanting, built centuries ago ; and, towering above these, the soaring steeples of time-honored churches. Crooked, irregular streets, such as are still found in New York and Boston, bear testimony to the somewhat slow early growth of these cities ; and modern architects are naturally compelled to dispense with the picturesque charms derived from these earlier conditions.

Wherever settlements have been made independently of municipal leadership, the extension of the streets followed the erection of buildings. In other words, the plan and extension of the streets depended upon the arrangement of the dwellings in the district. Wherever, on the other hand, the foundation or the extension of cities was controlled by municipalities, the streets—usually running parallel and crossed by avenues at right angles—were invariably laid out before the houses were erected. This system of municipal construction has not been confined to America : the same principle may be observed in the plan of the old city of Alexandria, in ancient Pompeii, in the early German colonial settlements east of the Elbe, and in the city of Mannheim (reconstructed in 1689, after its destruction by the French). Camillo Sitte, in his well-known work on the building of cities, has successfully inveighed against the dull uniformity inseparable from the above system ; and a movement designed to abrogate this unpleasant feature of municipal construction has now been initiated in Germany. In planning the North American cities, however, the municipalities could not afford to waste time in devising a picturesque arrangement of streets. The entire country had been mapped out parallel with the meridians ; and this principle was adopted also in the planning of cities. Street-lines, running parallel and crossed at right angles, were unceremoniously drawn without regard to the conditions of the ground, the water-courses, and similar obstacles—which obstacles, after all, may to-day be easily overcome by skilful engineering.

Furthermore, our modern methods of transportation demand straight avenues of communication ; while the high real estate values in the interior of American cities necessitate strict economy in the ap-

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portionment of the ground. Under these circumstances, a deviation from the base-line, for the purpose of a more picturesque grouping of the architectural parts, must necessarily be regarded as a great luxury; while the addition of bay-windows and balconies is frequently prohibited by the building laws relating to light and air. Consequently, the architect cannot avail himself of the most effective means of producing artistic effects, but is compelled to resort to all kinds of inadequate devices in order to break the severe monotony of lofty buildings.

This contrast between the mediæval era and our own is manifested not only in the arrangement of our streets, but also in the architectural significance of certain buildings. During the Middle Ages commercial intercourse was of very modest dimensions; the trades, on emerging from the monasteries, where they were so long confined, were feebly endeavoring to obtain a foothold in the community; all intellectual life emanated from the Church; and all affairs were controlled by clerical ordinances. At such a time it was but natural that architectural activity should centre around the churches. Unless the exigencies of war demanded the security of close proximity to a castle, the burghers of the Middle Ages preferred to dwell in the vicinity of the churches and monasteries. The ambition of the community, therefore, found its highest gratification in the erection of ecclesiastical edifices. How different to-day! During the Middle Ages the Church, from its unapproachable throne, exercised a complete dominion over the mind; while at present, industrial activity, in all its branches,—commerce, transportation, industry,—is the most potent factor.

Nowhere is this colossal difference so vividly expressed as in the architectural picture afforded by our cities, where mercantile buildings now play the leading *rôle;* and this is true more particularly of America, where no mediæval culture had to be supplanted.

Of all the architectural impressions received by visitors to North America, that produced by the colossal office-building—the "sky-scraper"—is probably the most profound; and this impression is nowise diminished even when the observer has previously visited London, or has acquired, by means of illustrations, a familiarity with New York or Chicago buildings. Beside these towering structures, the church steeples dwindle into insignificance. We may rejoice in this fact or deplore it, accordingly as we incline to the mediæval or to the modern ideal of life; but the fact remains, that we have before us incontrovertible evidence of a most important cultural development. Regarded from an ethical and æsthetic point of view, it is, therefore,

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quite natural that the sacred structures should be removed from the cramping environment of these gigantic buildings to some more quiet locality ; and this is necessitated also by reason of the enormous increase in real estate values—an increase due in large part to the progress made in technical construction.

Owing to the apparent absence of any restrictive legal measures regarding the height of buildings, the employment of iron and steel girders (admitting of practically unlimited extension upward) and the introduction of passenger elevators—so greatly facilitating transportation—have contributed to raise the value of building-plots to an enormous figure. In a criticism of architectural achievement, this important element must, of course, be taken into account ; for the conditions which compel the architect to utilize every available space of ground naturally act as hinderances to artistic achievement, and hamper the exercise of the imagination. It is unfortunate, therefore, that, owing to the enormous value of the land, the very buildings which are the most typical of public life will not admit of artistic treatment.

It is greatly to be regretted that the presence of these conditions will so rarely permit American architects to give full scope to their ideas and to erect buildings upon a grand, artistic scale,—buildings such as may be found in nearly every large city of Europe. That the sense of the beautiful and the talent for the work are not lacking in America has been sufficiently proved by the plan of the White City, with its noble central structure, the Administration Building. As a specimen of the older style of architecture, the Capitol at Washington, with the numerous streets radiating from it, may be mentioned ; while, among structures of a more modern type, we have, for example, the University Buildings at Ithaca and New Haven, and notably the newly planned University of San Francisco, which, in point of grandeur and completeness, will certainly rank with any similar architectural group in the world. Freed from the shackles imposed by financial considerations, the artist will here find an opportunity to construct an edifice which shall be in complete harmony with the surrounding landscape.

In America we note an unmistakable contrast between metropolitan and suburban life,—between the extraordinary and all-absorbing mercantile activity, on the one hand, and the enjoyment of life and its comforts, on the other. This contrast becomes manifest also in the architectural sphere. In the city we find buildings grouped together in dense masses—a perfect Babel of dwellings ; for here all considerations, including those of an artistic nature, are completely in abey-

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ance to the one purpose of stimulating, facilitating, and concentrating trade. In the suburbs the conditions are reversed. As a sort of reaction against the extremely dense aggregation of buildings in the business quarter, we here find houses, frequently only two stories high, scattered in such a way as to suggest a pleasant communion with surrounding nature. Here we do not even see those mediæval relics of military defence, never absent in Europe,—the boundary-wall and the paling surrounding the outlying gardens of the town. It would seem as if in these American suburbs the population were solely concerned in forgetting the exigencies of business, and in thoroughly recuperating from the worry and exhaustion of mercantile life.

The foregoing most strikingly exemplifies the remarkable difference between home life in Europe and in America. In American cities generally, private dwellings may be said to constitute the rule among certain classes of society. In Germany, however, such dwellings have long been classed among the exceptions. In Munich, as early as the sixteenth century, the apartment-house had already come into general use ; and to-day only a few cities of the Empire, such as Bremen, for instance, have succeeded in maintaining the patriarchal condition of the private family dwelling. It is impossible here to inquire into all the causes responsible for the present conditions. Suffice it to say, that ground-values and density of population have been the principal factors in the change.

But external architecture is influenced not only by the site of the building, its environment, and the size and price of the plot, but also by the available material of construction and its mode of manipulation. In German cities, such as Berlin and Munich, the method of construction known as "Putzbau," plaster-finish, is frequently used. This consists in shaping the façade of a building by the application of plaster. Now, so long as this mode of decoration preserves its legitimate character, and remains within reasonable bounds, it is perfectly justifiable, and is as little to be condemned as the use of plaster for the inner walls,—provided, of course, that the material used is weather-proof. Moreover, this construction is cheaper than ornamental brick, or freestone, and safer than wood, because less inflammable. As soon, however, as this mode of construction transcends its proper limits,—as it frequently does in the above-mentioned cities,—and aims at an imitation of stone fronts with fancy mouldings, window-framings, pilasters, pillars, quadrangles, etc., it must be regarded as an imposition deserving of our strongest condemnation. The absence of such spuri-

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ous substitutes strikes the observer as one of the most favorable features of American architecture. When the American builder finds that the employment of stone or brick would entail too great an expense, he constructs a wooden framework for his dwelling, and covers this with boards or shingles, thus giving the structure the unmistakable character of a wooden house ; and this procedure is the more expedient, owing to the inexhaustible wealth of the American forests. The frequent painting of these American cottages increases their durability, and greatly contributes to their trim and ornamental appearance. Nevertheless, the construction of such wooden dwellings within the city limits necessitates an excellent fire department ; and the great Chicago holocaust of 1871 demonstrated the danger involved in this mode of construction.

As regards country houses, however, more particularly when somewhat isolated, the employment of wood may receive our fullest sanction ; and it is the generous use of this material which has enabled American architects to reveal the originality of their conceptions in the rural villas of almost infinite variety which dot the American continent. Of course, there are exceptions to this rule ; and we occasionally find that the architect is led by his fancy into the perpetration of eccentricities, which, from an artistic point of view, must be regarded as entirely indefensible.

In the technical mastery of freestone the American architect stands unexcelled. The country affords an almost unlimited supply of solid building-stone of a marvellous variety of color ; and this stone, owing to the facilities of transportation, as well as to the improved machinery employed in its manipulation, may readily be transported and utilized throughout the country. Such colossal structures of freestone as exist in Egypt or Baalbek, being unadapted to the purposes of modern architectural art, are naturally missing in America. Nevertheless, we find in the United States to-day buildings whose imposing proportions may well invite comparison with the celebrated Florentine palaces and the monumental structures of ancient Rome.

While the foremost American representatives of freestone construction stand upon a level with their European colleagues, they greatly excel the latter in the technical manipulation and adaptation of ornamental brick. The rapid growth of American cities has resulted in a phenomenal development of ceramic architecture ; and our American colleagues, recognizing the great advantages of brick, its cleanliness, and the great variety of color of which it is susceptible,

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have thoroughly and most satisfactorily utilized this material in the construction of some of their finest buildings. Were it not for the uniformity of color and form afforded by the employment of brick material, the façades of buildings from sixteen to twenty stories high would not present that clean and smooth surface which forms so attractive a feature of the American architectural colossuses. Furthermore, the manufacture of large building-stones of a uniform shape is constantly assuming greater dimensions ; and these stones have shown an adaptability fully equal to that of brick. The façade of Madison Square Garden, the rear-façade of the Union Trust Building, and many other fine specimens, may be cited as examples of this highly developed process of manufacture.

The employment of terra cotta is, in my opinion, due not solely to its remarkable susceptibility to artistic treatment. It recommends itself primarily by reason of its cheapness, its durability, and its fireproof character ; and these properties have conduced largely to make burnt clay so useful and reliable an adjunct of modern architectural construction in America.

The German architect, on visiting American cities, is at once struck by the unmistakable European origin of the buildings ; and yet their aspect to him is at first somewhat foreign, if not repellent. Thoroughly conversant with all the historic styles, familiar with all the laws of construction governing the architecture of former times, and extremely susceptible to every infringement of these laws, the foreign architect at first experiences considerable difficulty in familiarizing himself with the views of his American colleagues. Even when the multitude of buildings undertaken for purely speculative purposes, and therefore devoid of all artistic pretensions, are left out of account, the visitor from abroad cannot at first apply the correct standard of criticism. When, however, he examines into the conditions under which American architecture has developed, he gradually learns to appreciate the splendid results already achieved in the New World. Indeed, his appreciation in many instances culminates in genuine enthusiasm.

After a sojourn in America we Europeans realize that that country is free from the oppressive influence exerted upon modern European life by obsolete laws ; and we learn to admire the high degree of independence with which our American colleagues employ all the rich artistic material which has been handed down to them as a legacy of the past, ever applying each individual form and style to the use for which it is best adapted.

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As soon as we have divested ourselves of our prejudices in favor of that academic severity of style enjoined upon us by our European training, and begin to study American architecture, its external appearance, and the conditions which have affected its development, we become conscious of the fact that the American architect is truly inspired from within, and is faithfully endeavoring to give a fitting and harmonious outward expression to well-defined artistic ideas. Regarded in this light, many an apparent incongruity reveals itself as a necessary feature of an organic whole ; and a general survey of architectural art in the United States, with its extraordinary activity, must convince every unprejudiced beholder of the enterprising spirit and boldness of plan displayed by the American architect. No obstacles are here considered insurmountable ; no tradition is here considered binding ; and here none is constrained to follow a prescribed and well-beaten academic route of march. It is true that this boldness of plan occasionally culminates in somewhat awkward architectural creations. Upon the whole, however, the views of American architects gradually become clarified ; and we recognize that they are capable of producing a new and genuine architectural organism, and not a spurious novelty garnished with time-worn embellishments.

Wherever, on the other hand, the traditional styles are employed, they are liberally construed, and so modified as to present a new and harmonious entity. The Hotel Waldorf in New York may be cited as a typical example of this species of architecture. To erect a building over ten stories in height, which is to preserve an outward semblance to the Castle at Heidelberg,—one of the most celebrated creations of the German Renaissance,—must truly be regarded as a most difficult and perplexing task. Notwithstanding the apparent incongruity of these conditions, the solution of the problem by the architect Hardenbergh has been most admirable. The pedantic advocate of the " pure style " will here naturally discover many deviations from established rules. But such criticism cannot detract from the artistic skill displayed by the architect in the production of picturesque effects by means of gables, towers, arches, and balconies, all of which embellishments were originally intended for buildings designed on a smaller scale. These adjuncts have here been applied to a colossal structure of square and uniform outlines, and yet so masterfully that the general effect is decidedly reminiscent of one of our mediæval German castles. This mastery of well-known historic forms is, however, a recent acquisition ; for a survey of the buildings erected prior to 1870 at once

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reveals those unfortunate architectural abortions, consisting of a more or less perfect façade, supplemented by rows of pillars, little turrets, and similar ornaments, all constructed without the slightest regard to any logical relation between form and idea.

Pleasing and instructive, indeed, are the buildings dating from about the middle of the seventies, when Richardson, by that splendid architectural achievement, the Trinity Church of Boston, had succeeded in emancipating American architecture from the trammels of European tradition. It is true that Richardson, like his predecessors, drew largely upon European models for his material, and based his work upon Romanic forms borrowed from the Norman and the Provençal styles. Nevertheless, his creations bear an imprint so characteristic, and accord so fully with modern demands, as to justify the opinion, on the part of European architects, that he should be regarded as the founder of an independent style of architecture in the New World. The foreign artist instinctively feels that Richardson must have been possessed of greater creative genius than any of his predecessors on the American continent. Primitive strength, noble simplicity, monumental grandeur, unwavering rectitude, and a lofty disdain of all petty embellishments are the attributes perpetuated in Richardson's work. The professional European visitor passes by the older specimens of American architecture with indifference, for they compare unfavorably with their European prototypes ; but when he comes upon one of Richardson's masterpieces he stands spellbound, filled with mute admiration.

The style known as the "Modern Romanesque," whose development we owe to Richardson, undoubtedly constitutes the most noteworthy feature in the whole category of American architecture. The remarkable adaptability of this style is truly astonishing. It may be applied equally to towering office-buildings, to neat little dwellings, and to modest, unpretentious, ecclesiastical structures. The wide acceptance which this style has found everywhere throughout the United States, the extensive use which has been made of it in the construction of public and private buildings, and its truly artistic character, demonstrate beyond a doubt that Richardson's life-work will continue to exert its influence upon coming generations, and will by them be accepted as a valuable legacy of a specifically American style.

I have already emphasized the fact that, from an artistic point of view, the "sky-scraper" must be regarded as the most objectionable feature of American architecture. It may not be inappropriate

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here to investigate this phenomenon of industrial development more fully.

Persons endowed with a sense of the artistic, who study these specimens of American architecture from colorless illustrations, must necessarily regard their aspect as repellent. Nor will the consciousness that these structures owe their origin to the rapid growth of our great cities tend to dispel this unfavorable impression. Yet, when we have these buildings actually before us, we cannot but be impressed by their enormous size and smooth finish. Indeed, when we contemplate these towering structures of twenty stories, their smooth surface of brick, and even, rectangular windows, and consider their finished appearance and high adaptability to present requirements, we are almost inclined to forget all our artistic scruples. Probably the most unfavorable representatives of this species of construction, however, are the tall and narrow buildings resembling towers. Even when relieved by decorative details, the effect here is not pleasing. Yet we are greatly in error if we imagine that we are here dealing with a distinctively modern phenomenon. Ancient examples of narrow and tower-like buildings—devoid, however, of artistic pretensions—may still be found in Verona, Florence, and Genoa. Some of these houses soar to a height of from nine to ten stories, each story possessing only two windows. On the other hand, in New York we find office-buildings four windows in breadth, and from sixteen to twenty stories in height. The proportions are, therefore, about the same. When we consider the ungratefulness of the task, the skill with which such problems are mastered is the more to be appreciated. The fact remains, however, that, among buildings exceeding ten stories, only a very small number impress the European observer favorably; and this is true even where the relation between length and breadth has been fairly well preserved.

Despite all this, we cannot but admire the manner in which the monotony of the high and broad façades of these colossal architectural masses has been broken. In this regard, indeed, American architects may be said to have introduced positively novel features, which, in this connection, may truly serve as models. And yet the means employed to this end are extremely simple. In order to remove the impression of uniformity produced by numerous stories of windows, regular in size and form, American architects have formed these windows into groups, skilfully arched so as to present composite units of a higher order. Furthermore, the lower stories are not arranged in

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regular horizontal tiers, but produce the impression of a powerful architectural base, composed of rough masses of freestone; and upon this base we have a structure of smooth stonework or terra cotta. Occasionally, rows of windows—particularly those of the higher stories—are so combined as to produce the effect of continuous frieze-work; while other decorative designs, such as bay-windows and pavilions (and in hotels, balconies and niches), are also called into requisition, in order to variegate the masses of masonry, and to impart life to the dead surface of the walls. The great superiority of the Modern Romanesque to the Renaissance style of architecture in its application also to gigantic buildings is graphically illustrated in those two great hotels of New York, standing side by side, the "New Netherland" and the "Savoy." In the former, we behold one homogeneous composition from base to summit; while in the latter we have a number of elements placed one above the other, in such a way that even an increase or a diminution of these would not materially affect the artistic appearance of the whole.

Still more gratifying have been the results attending the employment of the Modern Romanesque in instances where the architect, unhampered by pecuniary considerations arising from ground-values, has been enabled to develop his ideas upon broad, artistic lines. Wherever, within the last twenty years, the Romanesque style has been employed in the erection of city halls, university buildings, libraries, court-houses, hospitals, schools, and other public edifices, the effect of picturesqueness and solidity of execution has usually been such as to inspire even the most prejudiced European critic with the highest enthusiasm. The experience of Bruno Schmitz, one of our leading German architects, may here be cited as a case in point. During his visit to America, for the purpose of constructing a monument for the city of Indianapolis, Mr. Schmitz was so favorably impressed by the rough freestone system of construction, with its irregular blocks and varying tiers, that he has since utilized every suitable opportunity to adopt this style.

The application of the Modern Romanesque to small private dwellings is, however, less praiseworthy. Indeed, the effect of the rough quarry stones and the short, heavy pillars is here at times decidedly oppressive; while the reminiscences of mediæval romance awakened by these pseudo-representatives of knightly castles is little in accord with the modern American spirit.

Nevertheless, it is this very application of the Romanesque to pri-

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vate dwellings which, despite imperfections and incongruities, appeals most powerfully to the German architect. There must be something inexpressible in these buildings which tends to awaken a responsive chord. It may be that this sympathy is due to historical associations; for we should remember that the dawn of the Romanic style is identified with the glorious epoch of the Hohenstaufen dynasty. Apart from these purely historical traditions, however, this style, whether it incline to the romantically picturesque or the serious monumental form, must be characterized as distinctively Teutonic in its essence; and the virile power and healthy energy which pervade it betoken a reaction against the classical Italian school, with its somewhat superficial elegance and outward pomp. Devoid of empty vanity, this style aims at simplicity of expression, and disdains petty ornamentation; and yet, wherever plastic decoration has been deemed indispensable, this has been so dexterously intertwined with the stonework as almost to suggest a blossoming of the masonry itself. Here we meet with no superficialities, and no glaring effect to deceive the eye. The expression is confined to essentials, and is distinguished by dignity and earnestness.

The great architectural movement, in which Richardson's Modern Romanesque style plays so prominent a part, originated in England about two decades ago. Wherever this movement—so essentially Teutonic in its inception—has been introduced, it has gradually displaced all the forms distinctively Latin in their origin. The highly developed street life of South European countries—due to climatic conditions—necessitates an elegant, or at least a pleasing, architectural exterior. In higher latitudes, on the other hand, comfortable interior appointments are considered the main desideratum. It is this agreeable home environment and the spirit of privacy pervading it that so appeal to one immediately upon a first entrance into an American household. Undoubtedly this spirit of homelikeness and privacy is due, in very large measure, to a well-pronounced individuality; for it should be remembered that the artistic taste of the owner enters largely into the selection and arrangement of interior appointments. For this reason we find that, although neighboring houses may be identical as to ground-plan and size, each dwelling will be characterized by certain distinctive features. The constant variety of stoops, verandas, bay-windows, gables, etc., imparts a most inviting and homelike appearance to many an American street. It is as if one were moving among a society of persons who held different views and opinions without presuming to impose them upon their neighbors. It is true

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that a greater degree of harmony and rest is sometimes desirable. Nevertheless, were we to choose between the long rows of houses with uniform fronts—and these occur frequently enough—and the variegated pattern-plate above mentioned, with its wealth of imagination and original architectural ideas, we should unhesitatingly declare in favor of the latter.

Yet it is not the exterior, so much as the interior, of these houses which exercises so peculiar a charm upon the German architect. The arrangement of the ground-plan, and the facilities of modern construction, by means of which the various stories become independent of one another; the picturesque arrangement of the stairways; the commodious passages of communication between the rooms; the cosy seats *in alcoves and chimney-places, inviting quiet and seclusion*; the practical adaptation of smaller spaces to various purposes (bath-rooms and wall-closets),—all these improvements and innovations tend to create a most pleasing impression.

Nevertheless, there are circumstances which frequently occur to disturb this sense of satisfaction. False relations between supported and unsupported masonry; ornaments copied from older styles, yet misunderstood or poorly executed; clumsy chimney-pieces of stone surmounting super-elegant wainscoting; excellent frescoes in ornamental framings bunglingly executed,—these are defects not infrequently to be found even in the better class of buildings.

Notwithstanding these shortcomings, however, there can be no doubt that American architecture has struck out in the right direction. Despite occasional deviations and excesses, we may everywhere discern a healthy development from within, and a correct application of means to the required end. It is under these conditions alone that a sound development of architecture may be secured. Mr. Hinkeldeyn, who for several years was connected, as technical *attaché*, with the German Embassy at Washington, designates American architecture as a happy union between internal utility and external effectiveness,—a union observable throughout every gradation of style, from the simple and naïve to the dignified and the grand.

In conclusion, I wish to say, that not only is the future of architecture in America full of promise, but its achievements in the past have already secured to it a high rank in the records of the nineteenth century.

LEOPOLD GMELIN.

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THE CIVIL SERVICE AND THE MERIT SYSTEM.

THE recent order of the President, amending what are known as the "Civil Service Rules," has been the occasion of much misunderstanding and much misrepresentation. In the public mind, generally, there is great confusion of thought as to what in itself Civil Service means, and a vague understanding of what it is that the President has done in relation thereto. It is in the hope to clear up, to some extent, the misunderstanding, to set at rest the misrepresentations, and to give the general reader clearer ideas on the subject, that this is written. In the first place, it is necessary rightly to understand the terms. The Civil Service is a name which describes, in a most general way, the great administrative function carried on by the Government in civil affairs, as distinguished from military and naval affairs. In a word, it means the operation of the Governmental body in civil life. The Merit System is a title given to distinguish a plan for the appointment of administrative agencies in the civil field. It is supposed to define a system or operation under which the test of merit or fitness is to be applied to the administrative servant, as against the system or method under which such servants were chosen with little regard to their fitness or merit, but with preëminent regard to the desires of those who held positions of political power and influence.

Civil Service Reform is a term which describes an effort to break away from the latter method and to establish effectively the former method. That the necessity for this reform was great, need not be argued: it is everywhere confessed. That the reform has been largely secured, that the fruits of it are most beneficial, and that they will never be lost, is equally certain. To the Merit System, as opposed to the so-called "Spoils System," every intelligent and patriotic citizen will yield his adhesion. How to establish the Merit System, and render it perfect in its working, has been the study of the practical students of Civil Service Reform. Under their influence legislation has been enacted and a method of reaching the desired results inaugurated.

It is not necessary to pause here to discuss at length the features of the Civil Service Law and the rules promulgated by several Presidents

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for its application and enforcement. To claim for the Law and for the methods of its application absolute perfection, would be to claim for it what cannot justly be claimed for any other institution heretofore established by the wit of man. In the main, the method of determining fitness and merit in the applicant for appointment to the Civil Service, and which, at the same time, operates to nullify the influence of political patronage, is a plan of competitive examinations. A body, known as the "Civil Service Commission," consisting of three men supposedly independent of all political influence and considerations, has been established. This commission is charged with the duty, directly or through proper agencies, of guarding against violations of the law and of conducting the examinations of those who seek appointment to the Government service. As a corollary to that principle, which required merit in the civil appointees, a strong element of protection against the dismissal from office of meritorious servants was a necessity. Too much emphasis, however, has been put, and is likely to be put, upon this last proposition. It has led to the belief that, once appointed to the Government service, the servant has a vested right in his position, and that some peculiar sanctity surrounds him. This is not an unnatural, but it is an erroneous, conclusion. The relation of the Government to an employee does not differ in principle from the relation between all other employers and their employees.

It is a matter of wise expediency, however, that the right-minded and efficient employee in the Government service be thus guarded. It is expedient, because, without this protection, the best talent and the most highly qualified persons would be less likely to aspire to such employment. President McKinley's order of July 27, 1897, which forbids removals

> "from any position subject to competitive examination except for just cause and upon written charges filed with the Head of the Department or other appointing officer, and of which the accused shall have full notice and an opportunity to make defence,"

firmly established that protection which had theretofore theoretically existed, but had been all too frequently ignored.

I have referred to the plan of competitive examinations used in determining the fitness of candidates for appointment. It is a very good method; and, within limitations, it is probably the best that can be devised. It, however, is not the only method. Experience has shown that in certain particulars it is cumbersome, awkward, expensive, dilatory, and no more effective as to the end desired than another method to which I shall presently allude. Under the system of competitive ex-

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aminations, the Commission, by itself, or through its agencies, which are found wherever a free-delivery post-office is established, holds examinations, from time to time, in order to secure what are called "eligible lists" for such positions as the administrative officers are required to fill, and for which no candidates are to be found upon the books of the Commission. It will readily be apprehended that, with these examinations at periods of time often widely separated, the knowledge of the fact that such examinations are to be held fails to reach the attention of many who would gladly compete, or in any other proper way demonstrate their fitness, for appointment in the Government service. It has been found, as a result of this and of other considerations not necessary to state, that when appointees are desired for the public service, in too many cases there are no eligible lists. Under such conditions, the administrative officer can make a temporary appointment without regard to legal qualifications, either as to character or education, on the part of the appointee. His appointment may be the result of political influence, pure and simple. Appointed for three months, he may be reappointed, if at the end of that time there be no eligible list. And so he may be reappointed again and again, until an eligible list is established from which the Commission can tender the administrative officer three names, from which it is his duty under the law to select one. There is thus a door in the practical working of competitive examinations through which appointments can be made for periods of time more or less protracted, without any regard whatever to the Merit System; nor is this door so narrow as many people may imagine. Through it, taking the departments as a whole, hundreds of appointees have entered without regard to the sanction of merit and fitness which the law contemplates.

I have said above, that, in determining the question of merit and fitness, and in protecting the Government against the evil influence of political patronage, a method other than that of Competitive Examination would be referred to. That method may be called the method of Registration. It cannot be judiciously offered as a substitute for the system of Competitive Examination; but experience has demonstrated that it can be made effectively supplemental to the other method, and that the two together may be made to work out better results than either alone. Such is the opinion of those who have had the responsibilities of departmental administration; and such is the opinion of the Civil Service Commission itself. In the Navy Yards of our country the Registration System has been continuously in vogue.

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It is made operative in the case of all seeking mechanical or semi-mechanical positions. There are some thousands of men employed in the Navy Yards. The office for registration is always open, and the officer in charge always accessible. Any person desiring employment in these branches may at any time apply to such officer for registration. The examination is non-competitive. Each applicant is measured by a fair test of fitness for the work he aspires to do. His age, state of health, physical vigor, knowledge of the occupation he seeks to enter, with evidences of his sobriety and good character, determine whether or not he is fit for such employment. He is required to write his own application and, in his own handwriting, to answer a multitude of questions, the replies to which tell the story of his past history, etc. If he reaches the required standard of fitness, his name and address are registered; and when the departmental needs require services such as he has proved himself able to render, a name is tendered by the register officer (taken from the top of the registration list upon which the applicant's name appears) to the appointing officer. This, briefly, describes the method of Registration. As before remarked, in the Navy Yards this system has been in vogue for years. It has worked effectively and satisfactorily in securing able and competent employees; and political influence has entirely failed to operate in determining their selection. Whoever will reflect a little upon these two methods will be able to perceive that the Registration System is simpler and more prompt in its action than the system of Competitive Examination.

Admitting the superiority of competitive examinations, as a means of obtaining the highest degree of merit in that large range of positions where knowledge and education are important factors, one can admit, with equal frankness, that in a large group of occupations, where the skilled hand is the preponderating element of importance, scholastic competition is not only unnecessary but often unjust. One American citizen has as good right as another to appointment in a Government position for which he is equally well fitted, even if his range of general knowledge and the state of his education in other fields be less than his competitors'. If a man is wanted to make bricks, the important thing to determine is whether he can make good bricks. If he can do this, the question is answered. Whether he understands compound fractions, or can spell more or less accurately than his brother brickmaker, is unimportant.

With these general thoughts in mind, one can read the order of the President, amending the Civil Service Rules, with a better comprehen-

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sion of the reasons for its promulgation, and with a better understanding of its reach and scope.

It has been asserted, that by this order 9,000 or 10,000 places have been removed from the Classified Service and opened to the spoilsmen. If this allegation be true at all, it is true only in the most limited degree conceivable. The larger number of positions to which the order relates are found in the bureaus of Ordnance, Engineering, and Quartermasters, in the Department of War. These positions answer in every essential particular to those found in the Navy Department, to which the system of Registration applies. The effect of the President's amended order, so far as these 3,000 or 4,000 places are concerned, is to place them in the same relation to the Merit System that a similar line of employees *are now in*, and have long been in, at the Navy Yards, —nothing more than this, and nothing less.

Of the 8,000 or 9,000 appointees affected by the order, some 4,000 are in the Department of the Interior, and are known as "Pension Examining Surgeons." Of these a changing number (on the average about 3,400) follow their regular avocations as physicians or surgeons, and are pension examiners incidentally. They are paid by fees, none of the number last named receiving emoluments from their service to the Government of more than $300 per annum. Prior to President McKinley's recent order these 3,400 were not subject to examination. Without exception, these pension examiners are reputable physicians, holding diplomas, practising their profession where they live, and enjoying the confidence and respect of the people among whom they dwell. By a provision of the Civil Service Rules, approved by President Cleveland May 6, 1896,—Rule 3, section 8, clauses (a), (b), (c), and (d),—the following were excluded from classification:

Clause (a), $300 or under and partially employed	8,140
Clause (b), detailed for civil duty	53
Clause (c), employed in foreign country	3
Clause (d), quasi naval-military, enlisted for term of years	844
Total excluded from classification	9,040

Of those excluded under Clause (a), numbering 8,140, about 3,400 were pension examining surgeons.

With more than five-sixths already exempted by law from competitive examinations, and with the number subject to competitive examinations under the law always fluctuating, and because it was found that the higher grade of surgeons and physicians would not go into competitive examinations for appointment as pension examiners, it

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was deemed wise to exempt them all, and thus put them *all* on the same footing.

Notwithstanding these exemptions, however, it is of interest to record that here is a fairly large class of Government servants, hitherto unprotected, but now brought within the protection of the Civil Service Law by having applied to them the provisions of sections 1, 2, and 3 of Rule II of President McKinley's recent order. Those sections in effect declare that no person shall be dismissed from office by reason of his political or religious affiliations; and by those sections they are really for the first time brought within the Classified Service.

The two next larger groups of employees covered by the President's order are deputy marshals and deputy collectors of internal revenue; but these are affected in quite a different way than by the application of the Registration System. Deputy marshals are excepted from any examination, competitive or otherwise, and from any system of registration. The average number of deputy marshals is about 200. Technically speaking, they are not officers of the United States. They are the employees of the United States marshals who appoint them; and to the marshals are they responsible for all their acts and doings. It may be claimed, with equal force, that deputy collectors of internal revenue are not officers of the United States. The Constitution directly clothes the President and the Departmental heads with the duty of appointing all officers of the United States; but Section 3148, Revised Statutes authorizes the collectors of internal revenue (who are appointed by the President) to appoint their own deputies. From the collector the deputy receives his commission; to the collector the deputy makes all his reports and returns; the collector is responsible to the Government for the acts and doings of the deputy; and to the public the collector is responsible for injuries, in person or property, received at the hands of his deputies in the discharge of their duties, real or supposed.

Over these two classes there is no doubt room for debate on purely legal grounds; but the theory that, clothed with these responsibilities and these powers of appointment, the marshals and the collectors should be untrammelled in their choice, may be followed to a logical conclusion without subjecting to the charge of "pandering to the spoilsmen" those who hold such theory and act in conformity with it. It was under this theory, and possessing these convictions, that the President felt it his duty to except these two classes of appointees —United States deputy marshals and deputy collectors of internal revenue—from the general rules of Competitive Examination or Registra-

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tion. So careful, however, was he, in the case of deputy collectors of internal revenue, to guard the Merit principle, that, before their appointment is made and the pay for their service is allowed, applicants for these positions must pass an examination conducted by the Commission, equal in character to that now employed in competitive examinations for such offices.

The last group to which I shall allude, the only remaining one numerically important enough to demand consideration, is that of storekeepers and gaugers. Of these the average number employed is 1,000. Hitherto the law has required that they be appointed from eligible lists prepared by the Commission as the result of competitive examinations. But it is precisely in these offices that the greatest difficulty has obtained with the Commission in securing eligible lists; and the result has been that several hundred have of necessity been appointed without any examination at all. They were appointed temporarily, to be sure, but were reappointed at the end of the temporary term for the same reason that they were appointed in the first place; viz., lack of eligibles. The greatest difficulty in the situation has been with the least important places. In the larger cities, where distilleries run substantially without interruption, there has been no trouble. Through outlying, sparsely settled sections of Georgia, Tennessee, North Carolina, etc., the distilleries are of small capacity and run a part of the year only; and it is in these last-named districts that the pay is the smallest, owing to limited time of service, and the difficulty of securing eligibles the greatest. It was in order to put the test of merit upon this last-named class of appointments that they were exempted from competitive examinations; but those in more important sections and cities were left subject to the competitive Civil Service examinations. The line upon which the question divided was the compensation. The amendment of the President provides that storekeepers and gaugers whose annual compensation is $500 a year or less may be appointed by the Secretary of the Treasury upon the nomination of the collector, subject, however, to an examination as a test of fitness equal in character to that now required by the Commission in a competitive examination for such places.

The positions treated of in detail approximate 9,000 in number; and if the estimates of the critics of the President's order, which place the number of those left open to the spoilsmen at 10,000, be correct, it will be seen that the explanations and arguments above made apply to nearly all. The remaining ones, not thus accounted for, are employees

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in the mints, who are put under a system of examination and registration, and a number of private secretaries for certain departments, chiefs of bureaus, etc. Concerning these, full details of explanation would be too tedious.

This article is written for the purpose of setting forth plainly the facts of the case. It is also to be noted, as the record will clearly show, that each amendment was specifically proposed by some one or other of the heads of the executive departments, after more than two years' experience of administration; and these amendments, with unimportant exceptions, met the approval of the Civil Service Commission itself.

Furthermore, it ought to be presumed that the changes made have been suggested for the public good by the administrative officers, who, in prosecuting their duties, have pointed, without evil motive or design, the way to betterments and improvements.

If the considerations herein offered touching the large number of places, embracing substantially all, be received by the reader as justifying the action of the President in promulgating his amendments to the rules, that fact ought to carry with it the conviction that in his action the real principles of the Merit System have not been lost sight of, that his effort has been to make that system more effective, and that at no point can he be justly charged with a desire to prostitute the Civil Service to the base uses of the "spoilsmen." Indeed, the conduct of the public business by President McKinley and his counsellors and associates has been always characterized by freedom from partisanship and by devotion to the public interests. The President has not evaded the Civil Service Law: he has put in practice the true principles of Civil Service Reform in his appointments. There has been no back door open for those who would violate either the Rules or the Law in the matter of appointments. He was not swift to exempt even the admittedly hasty inclusions which had taken place; but, with deliberation and high purpose to benefit the Service, he has issued an order which men familiar with public administration approve, and which those who now condemn will, with greater knowledge easily acquired, commend.

LYMAN J. GAGE.

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LIQUID AIR AND MOTIVE POWER.

THE marvellous possibilities claimed for liquid air, as a source or vehicle of motive power, have been questioned by the good sense of the general public, and denied with authority by men of science. Further discussion of this particular subject may appear superfluous; but there are certain features of the agitation with respect to liquid air which are novel to the most intelligent layman, and which occasionally confuse even those deeply versed in some departments of physical science.

When a man of ordinary business experience is met by the statement, that liquid air can be used to drive an engine, and that three gallons of liquid air so used will produce ten gallons of liquid air, he is incredulous, and says, "That is perpetual motion." But when he is told, and truthfully told, that the new proposition is not to create something out of nothing, but merely to use a small part of the boundless stores of energy which really exist in the air and earth and water about us, he is likely to be puzzled, if not convinced. He may ask whether this new thing is any more unlikely than the telegraph or the telephone or the Roentgen-rays seemed at first. To this question there is a plain answer: The various wonders just named were not, even at first, in opposition to any accepted scientific principle. They added a few pages to the books of science; but they did not require the erasure of a page already included therein. The marvel of the telephone, for example, lay not in the revolution of our ideas as to electricity and magnetism, but rather in the revelation of unsuspected sensibility of the human ear to slight impressions.

That many interesting facts have been discovered by the study of liquid air is obvious; that important uses will be found for this article is probable; but that liquid air, taking energy from objects at the ordinary temperature about us, can permanently replace the usual agencies for the performance of work, is a proposition against which can be set one of the most firmly established principles of physical science,—a principle upon which is based a large part of all that has been written during the last fifty years concerning the relation of

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heat to other forms of energy. This principle is the second of the two so-called laws of thermodynamics.

The first law is merely one aspect of the law of conservation of energy : it asserts that a given amount of heat can be produced only from a given amount of some other form of energy, and that this amount of heat, if it be turned back into the original form of energy, will yield the original amount. The predicted use of liquid air as a motor would not necessarily violate this law.

The second law has to do with the *availability* of heat energy,—the conditions under which heat may be turned into ordinary mechanical energy, or made to do work. A very little reflection will show that the transformation of ordinary mechanical energy into heat is much more generally and easily accomplished than the reverse process. Savages get heat, even fire, by rubbing sticks together ; but it probably required centuries of comparative civilization to produce the most rudimentary form of heat engine.

In order to realize the conditions necessary for utilizing heat in the performance of work, let us consider how we might drive an engine, using, let us say, air as a working substance, at the expense of the heat of the atmosphere. Let us suppose that, at the beginning, the cylinder of the engine is filled with air at the same temperature and pressure as the air without the cylinder. Is this engine in a condition to make a stroke without help ? That depends altogether upon the pressure to which the outer face of the piston is exposed. If it is open to the atmosphere, the inward and outward pressures upon the piston are balanced ; there is no motion ; and, of course, no work is done. But let us suppose that we produce a difference of pressure,—still without change of temperature,—by pumping air into the cylinder or by placing the outer face of the piston in communication with a space from which the air is partly exhausted. The piston will now move outward, driven by the superior pressure of the confined air. This air is now doing work at the expense of its heat : it tends to grow cold in its expansion ; but we can allow heat to flow into it from the outside air, so that its temperature will fall very little below the original temperature. The confined air will, however, lose pressure as it expands ; and, finally, the piston will come to rest, with a deadlock between the opposite pressures on its two faces.

We have now made one forward stroke ; but how are we to get back to the starting-point ? Of course, we can push the piston back by maintaining sufficient pressure on the outer face ; but in this case

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we are producing heat in the confined air by the work we are doing upon it from without. We can allow this heat to flow out through the cylinder wall to the atmosphere nearly as fast as it is produced, so that the temperature of the confined air will be only a little higher during compression than during expansion. But what have we gained at the end of one full stroke? Nothing, or, rather, a little less than nothing; for the average temperature and pressure of the confined air during the back stroke, when we are expending work upon it, must be a trifle greater than during the forward stroke, when we are getting work from it.

It is evident that the process just described lacks some feature necessary to make it a success. We must so contrive that less work will be required to compress the air during the back stroke than we get out of it during the forward stroke. This we can do by making the confined air colder during the back stroke than it is during the forward stroke. But here we meet a difficulty. If everything around the engine is as warm as the engine itself, we have no means of cooling the confined air. And thus we come upon a great general truth; viz., to operate a heat engine we must have not merely a *source* of heat, but also a *sink* for heat: we must be able not merely to get heat when we want it, but to get rid of it when we do not want it.

But the Liquid Air man will naturally say, "That is just what our new contrivance gives. What can be colder than liquid air? What can be a better sink for heat?" Nothing, perhaps, that we have to do with is colder than liquid air; but the important question is, How long will the air remain liquid and cold when it is used as the sink for the heat of an engine? Certainly not forever. If there were some vast region of cold in convenient location with respect to the earth and air and water about us, we might run engines at the expense of the heat in these familiar bodies; but the little artificial refrigerator which we have in a few gallons of liquid air is of no avail for large purposes, and can never enable us to recover quite all the heat or other energy which it has cost. It is like a cask emptied of water at the bottom of the sea. Knock out the head of the cask, and you have a waterfall and a source of power, till the cask is filled; but the amount of work which pumped the water out of the cask is at least as great as the amount which can be recovered by filling it.

But would the case be different if we should use the liquid air itself within the engine cylinder? The same principles would apply. This would be merely an exaggerated case of the cooling which we

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have seen to be necessary during the back stroke, or compression phase, of our engine's working. There would still be need of some sink for heat outside the engine, at least as cold as the liquid air within the cylinder, and practically unlimited in capacity.

But does not the proposer of this new motor furnish just such a sink for heat by making three gallons of liquid air working within the cylinder produce ten gallons? Does he not claim to make the engine furnish its own sink for heat? His statement really amounts to that; and this is why it is impossible for one familiar with the principles of the case to accept his statement in its most natural and obvious meaning. It is necessary to reject it altogether, or to read into it some condition of vital importance, which the published account of his work does not give.

It is impossible to apply natural forces to the performance of our work, except by availing ourselves of some natural tendency of these forces,—some operation which would go on if our apparatus were not present, like the movement of the wind or the fall of water. Where heat alone is concerned, it is the tendency of nature to obliterate differences of temperature, and thus to bring everything to a dead level of temperature, in which heat is as powerless to produce ordinary mechanical motion as the water of the level ocean is to turn a water-wheel.

The proposition to use a given quantity of liquid air to produce a larger quantity of liquid air, by use of the heat energy of the atmosphere, earth's surface, or ocean, is directly opposed to this tendency of nature; and the operation will succeed only when water is found to run up-hill.

EDWIN H. HALL.

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ANTITOXINS IN THE PREVENTION AND TREATMENT OF DISEASE.

THE treatment of disease by curative substances derived from bacteria had its inception in the discoveries of Pasteur; and it is to the efforts of this eminent investigator that we owe the establishment of the science of medicine—so long purely speculative—upon a secure basis. Although the bacterial origin of disease was established nearly thirty years ago, it is only within the past decade that researches in bacteriology have proved of definite value in the treatment of infectious maladies. The bacteriologist has not remained content with the simple discovery of the microörganism or disease-germ, but has ever attempted to give this discovery a practical application in therapeutics.

It is now an accepted fact that many of the acute infectious maladies, such as small-pox, yellow fever, measles, and the like, do not, as a rule, affect a person more than once; so that one attack of any of these diseases is sufficient to establish the condition of resistance known as immunity. Nor does this condition appear to be dependent upon the severity of the attack, a mild form of the disease being as efficacious in this regard as a more severe one. Realizing this, physicians have aimed at the artificial production of the mild form by inoculation; and it is upon this theory that the so-called principle of the vaccines has been established.

This principle has been applied to the prevention of animal diseases, the special bacteria having been attenuated by physical or chemical agents. Thus, the diseases known as anthrax, swine erysipelas, chicken cholera, quarter-evil, and rinderpest are successfully prevented by means of the attenuated or modified cultures of their respective microörganisms; and it is upon this principle, also, that Pasteur's efficient system for the treatment of rabies is based.

The process of immunizing, however, must not be confounded with curative treatment. There is a distinct difference between the phenomena incident to artificial immunity and those attendant upon the cure of the disease itself. The immunity brought about by an

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attenuated virus does not differ from that established by an attack of the disease; whereas, in the case of the curative treatment, the germs of the disease are rendered nugatory, owing to the fact that the poisons generated by them are completely neutralized.

The ability to immunize was first successfully demonstrated in 1884 by the researches of Fodor and Nuttall. The experiments of these scientists established the fact, that the blood of animals that had recovered from an infectious disease contained entirely new substances, which not only were deleterious to the germ, but arrested its development and, in some instances, acted as a germicide. The protection of the body against the invasion and multiplication of the specific bacteria is evidently due, therefore, to the presence of some such substances in the blood.

Many of the infectious diseases are caused by bacteria, which invade the body and multiply there: these bacteria are known as the septicæmias. There are others which cause a toxæmia. These bacteria do not, as a rule, invade and multiply within the body, but secrete soluble, diffusible poisons which are readily absorbed. Diphtheria and tetanus are notable examples of the latter class. The poisons secreted by the bacteria of these diseases are known as toxins. These toxins, the most powerful of vegetable poisons, can be separated from their bacteria and studied. Roux and Yersin, in 1889, discovered the poison of the diphtheria bacillus, and ascertained its influence on the course of the disease. Their experiments demonstrated that the lesions of diphtheria were not caused by the bacillus, but by the soluble, diffusible poison generated by it.

It was in 1889, soon after the discovery of the diphtheria toxin, that the first experiments were made in the cure of disease by the use of the blood of animals which had recovered from an infection. Babes and his collaborator used the blood of animals that had been immunized against rabies. These experiments, while not successful in establishing a cure, were effectual in delaying the fatal termination of the disease. The blood of the immunized animals was found to have also a protective effect. The practical application of the serum therapy may be said to have begun with these experiments. Nothing tangible, however, resulted until 1891, when Behring and Kitasato published the results of the first successful treatment of animals affected with tetanus by using the blood serum of animals highly immunized against this disease; and soon afterward Behring published his first paper on the serum therapy of diphtheria.

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The results of the treatment were not so successful in diphtheria as in tetanus. The method of producing curative substances for these diseases was to isolate the respective poisons from the cultures of the bacteria, to administer a small quantity of the toxin to a susceptible animal, and to repeat the operation from time to time in gradually increasing doses, until large quantities could be borne without discomfort or deleterious effect. At first, small animals were used for the purpose ; but these proved unavailable, because of their extreme susceptibility and limited power of resistance. It remained for Roux and Aronson to solve the problem, by employing larger and more powerful animals, which could offer greater resistance to the toxins. Under these conditions they were able to raise the potency of the serum to the proper standard. Of the animals experimented with, the horse was found to be the most useful for the purpose.

If the blood of an animal undergoing the treatment be examined, it will be found that the amount of antitoxin developed is proportionate to that of the toxin administered. At first, the quantity of antitoxin may be exceedingly small, just sufficient to guard the tissues against toxin poisoning ; but, under the continuous stimulus of the toxin, it is rapidly developed in quantity and potency, until, after a few months' treatment, the animal can be given enormous quantities of toxin without ill effects. The antitoxic substances present in the blood promptly neutralize the toxin, thereby converting it into an inert substance, in which state it is eliminated from the body. When the antitoxic potency of the blood has been developed to a proper degree, it is taken from the animal under special precautions, and the serum is collected. This constitutes the antitoxic serum ; and it is this which holds in solution the peculiar substances termed antitoxins.

Laboratory experiments with these substances have shown them to be possessed not only of antitoxic curative power, but of preventive or vaccinal properties as well. Consequently, they are now extensively employed in protecting susceptible persons against disease. When administered in this way, the protection afforded, for the time being, is as perfect as it would be if recovery had taken place from an attack of the malady itself.

The phenomenal success which has attended the production of diphtheria antitoxic serum has induced investigators to turn their attention to the elaboration of curative sera for other diseases as well. In many instances these labors have been successful. So far, however, none of the substances evolved has been found equal to that for diphtheria.

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Four years have now elapsed since the introduction of the antitoxin treatment for diphtheria ; and the results may now be judged in the light of accumulated evidence. Some doubt as to the alleged good results reported by the antitoxin advocates may formerly have been justifiable. It is now generally believed, however, that there are sufficient data at hand to convince all but the most sceptical of the benefits of the serum in the treatment of this disease. A similar division of opinion formerly existed among medical men concerning Koch's discovery of the tubercle bacillus and the cholera spirillum ; yet, to-day few would doubt the correctness of the statements advanced by the eminent German investigator.

Granting that statistical evidence is not in itself conclusive, yet, if we acknowledge the reliability of vital statistics in general, why should we not accord the same credence to those of diphtheria and croup? It seems singular that the reports of physicians on these diseases should still be regarded by many with incredulity. But, even if we should cast doubt upon the statistics bearing on the prevalence of diphtheria, we cannot dispute the figures setting forth the number of deaths. It has been incontestably proved that there are now fewer deaths from diphtheria and croup than there were during the pre-antitoxin period. Furthermore, the diminution of the death-rate has been clearly shown to be proportionate to the use of antitoxin.

Before entering upon a discussion of the statistics regarding the antitoxic treatment for diphtheria and croup, it may be well to present a few figures showing the death-rate of the disease before 1894, *i.e.*, before the antitoxic treatment was begun. An examination into the statistics of those countries and communities where accurate records have been kept shows that the mortality from diphtheria and croup then varied from 30 to 60 per cent. Taking any number of years as a basis, the rate of mortality will approximate 35 per cent for all cases. Before 1883—the year in which the bacillus of diphtheria was discovered—no case was classed as diphtheria unless the typical symptoms and appearances described by Bretonneau were present. Many affections of the throat are now classed as diphtheria which were not so classed in former years ; but, on the other hand, it has been found, since the microscope has been employed as an aid in diagnosis, that more than 37 per cent of the cases formerly diagnosed as diphtheria are not diphtheria at all, but, for the most part, simple inflammations of the throat. This statement is based on the results of microscopic examinations in more than 15,000 cases diagnosed clinically as diph-

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theria. Now, if the 37 per cent of these cases were excluded from the true diphtheria, the death-rate of the disease, instead of being 35 per cent, would more nearly approach 50 per cent.

Microscopical investigations have been valuable also as a means of determining the true nature of pseudo-membranous croup. The consensus of opinion now is that over 95 per cent of these cases are due to the diphtheria bacillus. All affections where the bacillus of diphtheria is present are now classed as diphtheria. These affections have added quite a number of cases to the list, of which no account was taken formerly. Their number, however, is not large, not more than 15 per cent in the aggregate, and, consequently, not sufficient to equal the number excluded by the microscopical test.

In Berlin, from 1886 to 1894 inclusive, there occurred 42,123 cases of diphtheria and croup, with 12,561 deaths,—a death-rate of 29.8 per cent. For the following three years, 1895–1897, there were reported 14,174 cases of diphtheria and croup, with 2,092 deaths,—a mortality of only 14.7 per cent. The figures for each year from 1886 to 1897 are given in the subjoined table :

CASES OF AND DEATHS FROM DIPHTHERIA AND CROUP IN BERLIN FROM 1886 TO 1897.

Year.	Cases.	Deaths.	Year.	Cases.	Deaths.
1886.....	6,968	1,662	1892.....	3,683	1,342
1887.....	5,438	1,392	1893.....	4,315	1,637
1888.....	4,190	1,195	1894.....	5,220	1,416[1]
1889.....	4,220	1,210	1895.....	6,106	987[2]
1890.....	4,585	1,601	1896.....	4,345	559
1891.....	3,504	1,106	1897.....	3,723	546

[1] Antitoxin employed in two hospitals for three months. [2] First complete year of antitoxin period.

In 1894 the diphtheria antitoxin was used for three months only in two of the Berlin hospitals, with the result that the death-rate fell to 27.1 per cent, as compared with 37.7 per cent in the previous year. The attention of the medical profession was not directed to this matter, however, until after the Buda-Pesth Congress, when Roux made his memorable address on the antitoxin treatment before that body.

It is necessary to state here that a larger number of patients than formerly are now attracted to the hospitals, and that, in consequence, cases of a milder type are liable to be admitted. While this circumstance may have had some influence in lowering the general

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death-rate of these institutions, these milder cases have never been sufficiently large to affect that rate materially. In fact, so far as the writer's experience goes, the general character of cases admitted to the hospitals of Paris, Berlin, London, and New York in 1897 did not differ from that prevailing in 1894, the majority of the patients having suffered from the grave and malignant type of the disease.

The records of the Berlin hospitals for the twelve years, 1886–1897 inclusive, show the following admissions and deaths :

Year.	Admissions.	Deaths.	Year.	Admissions.	Deaths.
1886.....	1,738	609	1892.....	2,070	837
1887.....	1,638	598	1893.....	2,450	951
1888.....	1,446	523	1894.....	2,890	801 [1]
1889.....	1,623	573	1895.....	3,061	484 [2]
1890.....	1,792	695	1896.....	2,138	285
1891.....	1,764	623	1897.....	1,941	263

[1] Antitoxin employed in two hospitals for three months. [2] First complete year of antitoxin period.

A remarkable incident, showing the value of the antitoxin treatment, occurred in 1894, shortly after that form of treatment was inaugurated. From March to September of that year all cases of diphtheria and croup admitted to the Kaiserin Friedrich Hospital in Berlin were treated by the new method. The mortality for all cases was 15.6 per cent. From September until the middle of November no further supply of the serum could be obtained. During this period the mortality for all cases in the same hospital rose to 48.8 per cent,—the same rate as that prevailing before antitoxin had come into use. As soon, however, as a further supply of the serum was obtained, the death-rate again sank to the former figure.

Shortly after this an accident occurred which temporarily arrested the production of the serum, in consequence of which the supply was limited to a very small quantity,—so small, indeed, as to be available only in the German hospitals. For six weeks the hospitals of Prague, Vienna, and Trieste were entirely without the serum. During this period the death-rate in Prague rose to 53 per cent ; in Vienna, to 65.6 per cent ; and in Trieste, to 50 per cent,—a rate in singular contrast with the record for the six previous weeks, when all cases were treated with the antitoxin, and when the proportion of deaths in Prague was only 12.7 per cent ; in Vienna, 18.7 per cent ; and in Trieste, 22 per cent.

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In Paris, returns are not made on all cases of diphtheria and croup, only the number of deaths from these diseases being recorded. The following table shows the rate of mortality in that city for a period of thirteen years, 1886–1898 :

DEATHS IN PARIS FROM DIPHTHERIA AND CROUP.

Year.	Deaths.	Year.	Deaths.
1886	1,524	1893	1,398
1887	1,564	1894	1,262
1888	1,788	1895	993 [1]
1889	1,706	1896	411
1890	1,106	1897	444
1891	1,639	1898	274
1892	1,363		

[1] First complete year of antitoxin period.

A glance at the above table shows a remarkable decrease in the number of deaths since 1895, when the antitoxin came into general use.

It would be absurd to ascribe this diminution to mildness of type, or to laxity on the part of physicians in reporting deaths, or to a more rigid enforcement of such sanitary measures as would tend to prevent the spread of the malady. It is a well-known fact that in Paris fewer precautions are taken with regard to the spread of diphtheria and croup than in any other city in Europe or in America. That the disease has here, nevertheless, claimed fewer victims than among any other population of the same size may be accounted for by the fact, that the antitoxin is more largely used in Paris than elsewhere, because it is furnished *gratis* in that city.

The record of the London hospitals, while not quite equal to that of Berlin and Paris, nevertheless shows a great reduction in the death-rate. In 1894, just before the antitoxin was introduced, the rate of mortality was 61.8 per cent, as compared with 17.2 per cent for 1898, when antitoxin had come into general use.

It is in America that the antitoxin has given the most gratifying results ; and these results are growing more satisfactory from year to year. In the case of New York city, Dr. Biggs says :

"In 1894, the last year before the introduction of diphtheria antitoxin, and the year in which were inaugurated the bacteriological methods for the diagnosis and sanitary surveillance of this disease, there were nearly 2,900 deaths from diphtheria and croup, as contrasted with 900 for the year 1898."

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In Boston the death-rate for diphtheria and croup for the years 1880–1894 was 30.75 per cent; while for the ensuing years, 1895–1897, it was only 12.61 per cent. In Chicago, prior to 1895, the mortality was 30.36 per cent; and this has been reduced during the past year to less than 10 per cent—a remarkably low figure.

An investigation on a very broad scale has been recently completed concerning the results of the antitoxin treatment of diphtheria during the past four years. Reports were collected from various sources; and in their compilation no attempt was made to separate the cases into their respective classes.

Of these reports 145 mention 68,648 cases of diphtheria and croup treated with antitoxin, of which 12,500 were fatal,—a death-rate of 18.2 per cent. The same reports cite 16,230 cases of diphtheria and croup, occurring at the same time and in the same places, not treated with antitoxin, of which 6,136 proved fatal,—a rate of 37.8 per cent, or more than twice as high.

The most convincing argument in favor of the antitoxin treatment is its efficacy in the treatment of croup. The fatality accompanying this form of diphtheria has always been high. O'Dwyer collected reports of 5,546 cases of laryngeal diphtheria and membranous croup occurring before 1892 wherein the death-rate was 69.5 per cent. Another investigator, Monti, collected reports of 12,736 cases occurring prior to 1887 wherein the mortality was 73.3 per cent. Consequently, 70 per cent may be considered the mean average death-rate for this class of cases in former years.

Previous to the introduction of the antitoxin treatment, recovery from croup was rare, unless effected by tracheotomy or intubation. At that time no fewer than 80 out of every 100 cases required an operation. All this has now been changed. Out of 1,074 cases of croup, recently reported by the American Society of Pediatrics, only 668 required surgical treatment; the percentage of recovery for all being 78.8 per cent, as contrasted with the former death-rate of 70 per cent. Thus we note a great reduction not only in the number of deaths (234 in all), but also in the number of operations required. Tracheotomy, which was so frequently resorted to before the introduction of the serum treatment, is now almost entirely supplanted by the milder operation, intubation; and the necessity even for this is steadily growing less imperative, owing to the prompt administration of the new remedy. Dr. Behring states that, if the remedy could be administered to the patient on the first day of the disease, there would be prac-

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tically no mortality from diphtheria—a statement in which I fully concur.

With regard to the results of the administration of antitoxin as an immunizing agent, Dr. Biggs has collected thirty-five reports, enumerating over 20,000 cases treated with immunizing doses. Among those so treated diphtheria was epidemic, and all had been exposed to the disease. Only 1 fatal case was known to occur during the 30 days following the injection of the serum; while 109 mild cases occurred at various intervals, ranging from two days to the entire month. The most gratifying effects from immunization were produced in institutions for children.

It has been asserted that antitoxin is not without its ill effects, and that diphtheritic paralysis, as well as kidney and heart complications, has become more frequent since its introduction. That the paralyses have materially increased since the new remedy was first employed must be admitted. It has been noted, however, by careful observers that the contrary is true with regard to the other complications, which have not only become less frequent, but have usually yielded readily to the antitoxin.

Even if we admit the greater prevalence of diphtheria palsies at the present day, it by no means follows that these are due to any deleterious effects of the remedy; and the paralyses now met with are nowise different in character or intensity from those of former times. The reason why more cases of paralysis are now reported is, that more patients recover. Paralyses do not set in until a comparatively late stage of the disease; and the figures tend to prove that, if the fatal cases of former years had not died so soon after the attack, the percentage of paralysis would have been even larger than it now is under the antitoxin treatment.

Rashes, pains in the joints, and other transient effects of antitoxin have been noted; but the employment of the serum is not attended with any serious after-effects.

An antitoxin, prepared upon the same principle as that for diphtheria, has also been elaborated for tetanus,—a disease not so prevalent as diphtheria, but at least equally fatal. This serum possesses immunizing properties far superior to the antitoxin for diphtheria; but its curative effect has been disappointing. It is claimed that the mortality for all cases of tetanus treated with the serum has been diminished by at least one-half. This is so, however, by reason of its efficacy in the subacute and chronic forms of the malady. The serum has been

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thus far practically inefficacious when applied to the acute type,—supposedly for the reason that the characteristic symptoms of the disease do not set in until the nervous system is so much involved that therapeutic measures avail but little.

Laboratory experiments have demonstrated that animals suffering from well-marked tetanus can be saved, if the antitoxin be injected into the brain substance; while, if given subcutaneously, its influence is not marked. Acting upon these data, 18 cases of tetanus of the acute form have thus far been treated by the intracerebral injections, with 12 recoveries and 6 deaths,—a decided reduction in the mortality. Owing to its very powerful immunizing effect, the serum has been employed with the most gratifying results in cases of wounds where tetanus infection has been suspected.

Next, a serum, antidotal to serpent and insect venom, has recently been successfully introduced by Calmette, of the Institut Pasteur at Lille. The substance is known as the antivenine or antivenomous serum. It is prepared similarly to the diphtheria and tetanus antitoxic sera, by inoculating animals with quantities of the venom of serpents in such a manner as to establish a high state of immunity. It is a remarkable feature of this serum that, although produced by a venom derived from the cobra family, it is equally efficacious in neutralizing other venoms quite unlike in composition, such as those of the viper and rattlesnake. The statistics of deaths from snake-bites in India show that more than 20,000 persons die annually from this cause. The serum has already been applied to quite a number of persons bitten by venomous reptiles ; and the results have been most gratifying. Of six persons bitten by the cobra,—almost invariably fatal,—all have recovered. One case of moccasin-bite has recently come under the writer's observation ; and in this instance, also, the antivenomous serum was administered with very satisfactory results. Indeed, it is believed that this serum will yield even better results than does the antitoxin serum in diphtheria, provided the remedy be administered within a short time after the bite is inflicted.

Sera resembling the antitoxin species—in so far as they contain substances which have a direct destructive action on the bacteria—have also been elaborated for some of the septicæmic affections and other diseases which secrete poisons differing from that of diphtheria. As yet, however, such experiments have not been very successful. These substances possess high immunizing power ; but their curative power is small. The anti-plague, anti-streptococcus, anti-cholera, and

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anti-tubercle sera may be cited as examples of this kind. Of these, the anti-streptococcus serum has so far given the most satisfactory results; and it has been extensively employed in the treatment of diseases classed as wound infections, blood poisons, erysipelas, etc. Thus far, vaccines, or substances for the prevention of the above-mentioned class of infections, have, as I have said, proved more successful than those prepared for their cure.

Haffkine's investigations regarding the cholera spirillum have already resulted in the discovery of sera which appear to have a marked protective influence against this disease. Two preparations, a stronger and a weaker, known as No. 1 and No. 2, are used for the purpose. These vaccines are inoculated subcutaneously, commencing with the weaker (No. 2), and following, within eight or ten days, with the stronger. The object of the first injection is to accustom the system to the bacterial substance, and at the same time to establish a slight reaction, whereby the cells elaborate a substance which is antagonistic to the cholera poison. The second injection is supposed fully to protect against cholera infection.

Haffkine, in his report to the Government of India, states that from 1895–1896, 42,176 persons received anti-cholera inoculations, of which number 22,703 submitted to the first, and 19,473 to both. These inoculations, made on people among whom cholera was epidemic, had the effect of almost completely eradicating the disease. Unfortunately, the application of the remedy was in many instances prevented by the prejudices of the natives. The following statistics have been obtained :

Among 6,534 inoculated cases 27 cases of cholera developed after completion of treatment, and 24 deaths ensued ; while in 13,226 cases not inoculated 227 cholera cases developed, with 210 deaths.

The immunity effected by anti-cholera inoculation appears to last for a considerable time. Of the 4,000 persons so treated at Calcutta, only 4 contracted the disease, and this after the lapse of more than two years. It would appear, therefore, that inoculation conferred an immunity even greater than that produced by an attack of the disease itself.

The attention of the world has been directed to the sad conditions which have existed in the greater part of India on account of a widespread famine and the horrors incident to it. To make matters worse, bubonic plague has made its appearance in the western part, and has been epidemic for over two years. The sanitary problems which must

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be solved by the Administration are complicated by obstacles due to ignorance, caste, and race prejudices. In view of these conditions, it is improbable that the plague will be mitigated for some time to come.

One year before the plague had broken out in Bombay, Yersin announced that he had succeeded in producing a curative serum which had been administered to 26 cases, with the result that only 5 ended fatally. This serum has since been employed to a considerable extent in Bombay ; but the results have been by no means so flattering as those reported for the first cases. The consensus of opinion is, that while the anti-plague serum has the power of protecting animals inoculated with it, it exerts a curative power only at a very early stage of the disease, producing little, if any, effect if administered at a later period. The death-rate does not appear to have been materially lowered by its use.

Soon after the administration of the anti-plague serum was begun, Haffkine turned his attention to the production of a plague vaccine. This is prepared by growing the plague bacillus under conditions which enable it to multiply and to produce a great amount of the toxin. These cultures are then killed by physical or chemical agents. The vaccine consists, therefore, of dead plague bacilli and the poison generated in their development. A given quantity of this substance injected subcutaneously causes a passing constitutional disturbance, after which the body possesses an immunity against the disease. So far, 14,035 persons have been inoculated, all resident in places where plague was epidemic. Of these only 84 cases developed. Of 8,026 persons, living in the same environment, and under identical conditions, who were not inoculated, 2,147 contracted the disease, 1,800 of the cases ending fatally. These results show quite conclusively that the anti-plague inoculation acts as an efficient preventive ; and it is unfortunate that the remedy cannot be more generally applied.

The system of inoculation has now been extended to typhoid fever. It was first used in connection with this disease by Wright, of the British Indian Medical Service. During the past two years these inoculations have been administered with gratifying results ; and the preventive, in this instance, promises to be as effective as that employed by Haffkine in the treatment of cholera.

The local and constitutional effects which are attendant on all these preventive inoculations, although slight, will tend in no small degree to retard their general application. It seems probable, however, that the objectionable features will soon be removed, or at least mitigated.

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Concerning vaccination against small-pox, little can be added to what is already known. In view of the fact that its efficacy in preventing the disease has been so thoroughly and repeatedly demonstrated, it is surprising that all thoughtful persons will not avail themselves of its benefits. If all were vaccinated, small-pox would be a rarity, and might, indeed, eventually disappear. The prevalence of small-pox is in inverse ratio to the practice of vaccination. It is the modified and attenuated form of this disease, superinduced by vaccination, which lies at the basis of the new theories promulgated by Pasteur and his followers.

These modern researches into the causation, prevention, and treatment of infectious maladies demonstrate beyond a doubt that the employment of bacterial derivatives has long passed the experimental stage, and may now be considered an essential factor in the therapy of disease.

J. J. KINYOUN.

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RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN CHINA.

THE latest "cycle of Cathay" has been one of remarkable developments; and the advances in China during the past few years have indeed been marvellous. The Chinese cycle covers a period of sixty years; and while sixty years is a small period in the history of that ancient nation, yet it is less than that time since the knocks of foreign commerce and modern civilization at the doors of China awakened her from a slumber of centuries. To-day the doors stand wide open; and commerce, industry, and enterprise are bidden to enter.

Few, save those who have had occasion to follow closely the recent developments in China, probably realize the rapidity with which events in that country have marched of late. Sixty years ago, every avenue of entrance into China was closed. "Foreign devils," as all foreigners were called, were rigorously excluded from her ports and inland waterways; no representatives of the commerce of the outside world found standing or business relations among her people; consular representatives of foreign nations were unrecognized; and diplomats who desired to penetrate to the capital and bring themselves into communication with the Emperor could only do so through a long and tedious process, ending with the ceremony of the "kotow," which means to kneel three times before the throne and knock one's head nine times upon the ground, in token of subserviency.

Now, foreigners and foreign merchants are permitted to reside and trade at more than a score of cities on the coast and far in the interior; ports and coastwise traffic are open to foreign vessels; commerce upon the rivers in the interior has recently been opened to citizens and vessels of all nations; hundreds of miles of railways are in operation, and thousands of miles are projected; telegraph lines connect the capital of the Empire with the chief cities of the provinces and with the entire outside world; mining and manufacturing concessions are extended to citizens of all nations; and foreign capital, enterprise, and business methods are invited to a place in the economy of the Celestial Empire. Where a few years ago the slow-moving junk, propelled by sails or man-power, was the only means of water transportation, steam vessels

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may now ply to carry passengers, tow barges, and distribute foreign as well as domestic products; where coolies, wheelbarrows, and sedan chairs were lately the sole means of conveyance for freight and passengers on land, the locomotive and the railway-car are now making their appearance; where domestic production only progressed by the most primitive methods of hand-labor, the whir of the spindle is now heard and modern methods of manufacture are in actual operation; while electric tramways, electric lights, telegraphs, and telephones are rapidly transforming the methods which have characterized the internal life of China since long before the existence of the nations from which she is now learning these lessons of modern progress.

China first opened her doors to foreign commerce in 1843. Prior to that time those desiring to offer their merchandise to the Chinese were compelled to do so through native merchants at certain ports. These persons were termed "hong merchants," the word "hong" meaning warehouse. The Portuguese were the first Europeans to attempt to open trade by sea with the people of China, their first vessel arriving off the coast in 1516. The trading company which this vessel represented established a factory at Ningpo in 1522, and another on the island of Macao in 1537,—the term "factory," however, meaning simply an agency, being derived from "factor." The Portuguese were followed by the Spanish, who conquered the Philippines in 1543; by the Dutch, who established themselves on the Pescadore Islands off the eastern coast of China, between Formosa and the mainland, in 1624; and by the British, whose first ship, controlled by the East India Company, landed off the island of Macao in 1635. In all these cases, however, the merchants or trading companies were required to offer their goods solely through the hong merchants, and in most instances only through those located at the city of Canton, the hong merchants being held responsible by the Chinese Government for the collection and payment of duties levied on the goods so imported.

American trade with China, which began in 1784, was conducted in the same manner during sixty years; and it was not until 1843, as above indicated, that the doors of China were opened to citizens of other nations for direct trade. This development was the result of the opium war between Great Britain and China, which began in 1840, and resulted in a treaty, signed in 1842, by which Shanghai was to be opened, for residence and commerce, to British subjects in 1843. In 1844 a similar treaty was made with the United States. Canton, although included in the treaties of 1842 and 1844, was not fully opened

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until 1859. Other ports quickly followed in the same category; and by 1862 twelve ports on the coast of China had been opened for residence and trade to citizens of all nations having treaty relations with the Empire. In 1877 three cities were added to the list of treaty ports; in 1889 two others; and since 1895 the number has increased so rapidly that they now dot the entire map of the Chinese Empire. Many of these are far in the interior, hundreds and even thousands of miles from the coast, upon which all of the original treaty ports were located.

A treaty port, it may be observed, is simply a port named in a treaty as one at which the citizens of the country with which the treaty is made may reside, bring in their merchandise, and transact business directly with the citizens of China. The privileges granted by these treaties include the right of residence in a given section of the city only; this section to be under the control of the foreigners residing within it, who make its municipal regulations, appoint and support its police, and govern themselves by local regulations and laws administered by local or consular courts. Questions between foreigners and Chinese are tried either in the consular or the Chinese court, according to the citizenship of the defendant, who is allowed the privilege of trial by the court of his own nation.

The treaty ports are, therefore, the doors through which foreign goods enter China. At each of these a custom-house is located; and there the duties are collected upon the goods of foreign origin thus brought into the country. The average tariff rate is about 5 per cent *ad valorem;* though many articles are free of duty, and others range as high as 10 per cent *ad valorem*. The collection of Customs duties is, and has been for many years, under the charge of citizens of foreign countries. This system was created at the suggestion of the officials of the Chinese Government, who found great difficulty in mastering tariff systems and European languages simultaneously.

Numerous doors having been opened for the admission of foreign commerce into China, the next subject claiming our attention is that of distribution. In the latter is further illustrated the growth of sentiment in favor of closer relations with the citizens of other nations. The methods of distribution are, first, the great rivers; second, the smaller inland waterways, natural and artificial; and, third, the railroad lines now under construction or in contemplation. In addition to these there are land transportation routes, which are, however, in most cases primitive and unsatisfactory. It is in regard to the rivers and railroads that the most remarkable developments of

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the past few years have occurred. In 1876 a short railroad was opened between Shanghai, the New York of China, and the adjacent deep-water port of Woosung, fourteen miles distant. But native prejudice was opposed to railway construction ; and it was not until a decade later that further attempts were made. A road was then projected to connect Tientsin, the chief commercial city of Northern China, with the important port of Shan-hai-kwan, still further north; but this was not completed until after the war with Japan, when a line connecting these points and extending toward Peking, the capital, was opened. The latter soon became popular ; and it has been gradually extended. The length of road now in operation is about three hundred and fifty miles.

This entire system, if it may be so denominated, has Tientsin as its central point, extending northeastwardly to Shan-hai-kwan ; while the line from Tientsin westward runs to within a short distance of Peking, and thence southwestwardly a considerable distance to Paoting, the capital of the province in which Peking is located. From that point a line 650 miles long is projected by a Belgian syndicate ; and work upon it is under way. This proposed line will connect Hankow, the most important interior city of China, with Peking, the capital. Hankow, which is located on China's greatest river, the Yangtse-Kiang, is a city of nearly 1,000,000 inhabitants, lying 600 miles west of the coast, and the commercial centre of a section having a population of 150,000,000.

An American syndicate is now proposing to build a line of railway from Hankow southward to Canton, about 600 miles distant ; and a corps of surveyors is at work preparing plans for its construction. The completion of the American and Belgian lines will give a direct through railway system of about 1,500 miles from Peking, which lies at the extreme north of the Empire, to Canton, which lies at the extreme south ; passing the greatest commercial city of interior China as well as numerous smaller cities *en route*. The country traversed is densely populated, and highly productive in both mineral and agricultural resources. Another line, proposed by British and German capitalists, is to connect Peking with Shanghai, the greatest commercial city of China ; its course lying parallel with, but from 150 to 200 miles west of, the coast. Still other lines are projected southwestwardly from Peking, to penetrate the great coal and iron regions of the provinces of Shensi and Shansi, whose deposits of those minerals are believed to be the most valuable in the world.

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In the South of China, railway lines are projected westwardly from Canton. One of these is to extend to the highly productive agricultural province of Szechuan, whose population alone is nearly equal to that of the United States, the latest reports giving the number at over 67,000,000. At the extreme south, railway lines are projected by the French, to enter China from their adjacent territory of Ton-king; while in the southwest the British are preparing to extend the railway system of Burma into Chinese territory, tapping the head-waters of the West River, and connecting with the proposed railway systems of Southern, Central, and Eastern China. The lines thus projected are more than 3,000 miles in length; and citizens of other countries are pressing for similar concessions in other parts of the Empire. The Germans have obtained agreements for the right to extend railway lines westward from their port of Kiao Chou in the province of Shantung. Thus, the railway system of China, as it stands at present, has 350 miles of road completed and more than 3,000 miles projected; while to coöperate with it there are more than 3,000 miles of telegraph lines already in operation.

One of the most important of the recent commercial developments in China, and one which has attracted comparatively little attention, is an edict by which the principal navigable streams have been opened to foreign vessels and traffic. Until recently, foreign vessels were not permitted to navigate the rivers of China; nor were foreign residents permitted to travel, except to certain named points,—usually the treaty ports. In February, 1898, an edict was issued permitting foreigners carrying official passports to visit all parts of the Empire on pleasure or for business purposes; and this was followed in June, 1898, by an edict permitting foreign steam vessels to navigate the rivers of all provinces having treaty ports, and including such small vessels as would be able to make their way to the points hitherto untouched by steam navigation or foreign trade. These two incidents, by which foreign steam vessels are permitted to penetrate to the head of navigation on the principal streams of the Empire, and to carry with them foreign citizens and foreign goods, seem likely to permeate rapidly the entire Empire with foreign influence and methods. When to this is added the fact, that, under the treaty of Shimonoseki, made with Japan in 1895, foreigners were permitted to bring their manufacturing machinery to, and establish manufactories at, the treaty ports now scattered over the entire Empire, the prospect of rapid development of new commercial and industrial methods will be readily

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recognized. Already cotton factories with modern machinery are running day and night at their full capacity at Shanghai; while in other lines and at other places similar developments are reported.

It must not be understood, however, that all conditions in China are favorable to foreign commerce. While the Customs duties are moderate and are fairly collected, much difficulty is reported with reference to the interior taxes upon foreign goods. The Government of China requires each province to contribute a certain sum toward the national expenditures, leaving to its officials the methods of collecting the same. One of the principal sources of revenue by the provinces lies in the collection of taxes upon foreign goods coming into a province from adjacent provinces. These taxes are known as "likin" duties, and in some cases are nearly equal to the Customs duties collected. The fact that the goods are often required to pay these transit duties in passing not only from province to province, but from one subdivision of a province to another, frequently makes the burden of taxation on goods sent to the extreme interior very heavy. An attempt was made to remedy this by an agreement on the part of the Chinese Government, that foreigners desiring to ship goods to the interior ports might send them free of *likin* taxes, by paying at the Custom-House a transit tax equal to 50 per cent of the ordinary tariff taxes. This proposition was gladly accepted by foreigners desiring to send their goods to the interior; but in many cases the agreement has been ignored by the officers of the provinces, so that difficulties attending commerce with the interior are still frequently reported.

The development of foreign influence and holdings on the coast of China during the past few months, and its possible effect upon the commerce and industries of that country, have been and continue to be subjects of much interesting discussion. In this, as in commercial matters generally, events have moved rapidly. The treaty between China and Japan, made at the close of the war between those nations, provided that Japan should retain permanently a part of the peninsula of Liao Tung, lying on the northern shore of the Gulf of Pechili, the gateway to Peking. Russia, Germany, and France immediately protested against this ownership by Japan of land on the mainland, as likely to disturb the balance of power in the East; and Japan reluctantly withdrew from the mainland, accepting a money indemnity instead of the territory in question. But she retained the island of Formosa, lying about eighty miles off the coast. The islands of Macao and Hong Kong, at the mouth of the West River, were already held by Portugal

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and Great Britain, respectively ; the former since 1537, and the latter since 1842.

In November, 1897, however, the German Government seized the port of Kiao Chou, on the northeast coast of China, in retaliation for outrages upon German missionaries ; and within a few weeks an announcement was made that Kiao Chou had been leased to Germany for a term of ninety-nine years. The lease gave the German Government the right to land troops, construct fortifications, and establish a coaling and naval station; while German subjects were given certain exclusive privileges in the construction of railways and the opening of mines in the important province of Shantung, in which Kiao Chou is situated.

On December 22, 1897, immediately after the lease of Kiao Chou to Germany, the Russian Government obtained permission for its naval squadron to winter at Port Arthur, from which it had, in conjunction with Germany and France, required Japan to withdraw two years earlier. In the following March an agreement was signed by the Chinese Government, by which Port Arthur and the adjacent port of Talien-wan were leased to the Russian Government for a term of twenty-five years, the lease to be subsequently extended by mutual agreement. Port Arthur was to be exclusively a naval port for Russian and Chinese vessels ; while a part of the port of Talien-wan was to be opened to foreign commerce. In addition to this, Russia was to have the privilege of extending her Trans-Siberian Railroad through Manchuria to Port Arthur ; thus giving her an ice-free port, which she had not up to that time been able to obtain on her Pacific coast. Since that time Russia has also demanded the privilege of extending her railway line to Peking.

The lease to Russia of Port Arthur, lying on the north side of the Gulf of Pechili, the gateway to Peking, was followed by a demand from Great Britain for a similar concession on the south side of the Gulf of Pechili ; and the port of Wei-hai-wei, nearly opposite to Port Arthur, but nearer to the entrance to the Gulf, was, on April 2, 1898, leased to Great Britain, and occupied by her on May 24, under terms similar to those granted to Russia at Port Arthur. Later, a strip of territory on the coast, immediately opposite Hong Kong, was also leased to Great Britain. These leases of territory to foreign Powers, with the privilege in each case of establishing naval and coaling stations, were followed by a demand from France for similar privileges on the southern coast of China, adjacent to her territory of Ton-king ; and a lease of the port of Kwang-chau-wan, on the Leichau peninsula, on the

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extreme southern coast of China, was made to the French Government, on April 13, the terms and privileges being similar to those granted to the other Governments. In March, 1899, the Italian Government demanded similar privileges at San Mun, on the central-eastern coast of China, a comparatively short distance south of Shanghai. Similar demands are reported to have been made by Japan, with reference to certain territory immediately opposite her island of Formosa. No action by the Chinese Government has yet been reported with reference to either of these demands.

The prospective effect of these possessions on the coast of China by foreign Governments has been the occasion of much discussion. That some of the leases have been accompanied by certain exclusive concessions is shown by a recent edict by the Chinese Government, which called attention to the fact that railroad and mining concessions could not be granted indiscriminately in the provinces of Shêngking, Shantung, and Kwangsi, in which are respectively located the Russian, German, and French concessions. In addition to this, the further fact that the Russian Government, in agreeing to extend its Trans-Siberian Railroad through Manchuria, obtained permission to occupy the territory with an armed force, has led to the assertion that at least this portion of China is clearly a Russian "sphere of influence." On the other hand, the assertion that the most important sections of China are passing under control of European Governments seems scarcely justified, in view of the fact that during the past year Great Britain has obtained agreements from the Chinese Government that the valleys of the Yangtse-Kiang and the West River, which occupy by far the most important commercial section of the Empire, shall neither of them be "alienated" by commercial privileges granted to any individual nation.

China's foreign commerce has increased with wonderful rapidity during the past few years. In 1873 her imports amounted to but 76,637,000 haikwan taels: in 1897 they were 202,829,000. Her exportations in 1873 were 69,451,000 haikwan taels: in 1897 they were 163,501,000. It must be remembered, however, that the haikwan tael of 1897 is of less value than that of 1873; being merely a given weight of silver whose value fluctuates with the market price of that metal. Its value in 1873 was $1.53, and in 1897, 78 cents. This and the further fact, that values of goods, both imported and exported, have meanwhile decreased materially, make it difficult to reach any definite estimate of the actual increase in quantity of imports or exports.

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An examination of the details of imports by articles, however, shows that, in many lines, the growth has been rapid and constant, and that, in many of the most important articles of imports, those from the United States have made more rapid and permanent growth than those from any other country. This is especially true of cotton goods, kerosene, flour, canned goods, machinery, and railway material and supplies. The British official who supervises the collection of Customs duties in China, in his reports during the past few years, has repeatedly called attention to the fact that American goods, and especially American cotton goods, are making more rapid gains in their invasion of the markets of China than those of any other country, and that American machinery, oils, and food-stuffs are finding an increased and ready market in all parts of the Empire. This is shown by the accompanying tables, which give the imports into China by principal articles at ten-year intervals, and the exports from the United States to China in 1898, compared with those of 1889.

IMPORTS OF PRINCIPAL ARTICLES INTO CHINA FROM ALL COUNTRIES, BY QUANTITIES, IN 1877, 1887, AND 1897.

Articles.	1877.	1887.	1897.
Coal (tons)	168,251	304,542	549,359
Cotton, raw (piculs [1])	154,892	173,728	160,256
Cotton yarn or thread (piculs)	116,162	503,728	1,573,000
Cotton gray shirtings (piculs)	4,494,523	5,340,363	4,958,000
Cotton shirtings, other (piculs)	1,007,694	2,423,910	2,596,000
Flour (value in taels)	No data	567,000	1,222,000
Ginseng (piculs)	2,990	3,180	4,892
Machinery (value in taels)	No data	398,000	2,717,000
Matches (gross boxes)	559,117	2,276,863	9,254,000
Copper, manufactures of (piculs)	21,079	61,579	51,937
Iron and manufactures of (piculs)	462,585	1,023,000	[2] 1,779,000
Lead and quicksilver (piculs)	242,394	227,083	130,123
Tin and tin plate (piculs)	103,466	65,402	126,918
Kerosene oil, American (galls.)	No data	12,015,135	48,213,000
Kerosene oil, Russian (galls.)	No data	[3] 5,655,471	36,924,000
Opium (piculs)	70,179	74,350	49,217
Rice (piculs)	[4] 30,433	1,944,251	2,104,000
Sugar (piculs)	[4] 57,382	271,719	2,298,000
Timber (value in taels)	[4] 592,000	585,000	1,324,084
Wool manufactures (value in taels)	4,831,000	5,425,000	4,838,000
Total imports (taels)	73,234,000	102,264,000	202,289,000
Total imports (dollars)	106,917,000	118,309,482	158,207,000
Value of haikwan tael	$1.43	$1.17	$0.78

[1] Picul = 133⅓ pounds. [2] 1896. [3] 1889. [4] 1880.

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It will be seen by these tables that, while the value of the total imports into China is now 33 per cent more in gold than a decade ago, those from the United States to China are now nearly four times as

PRINCIPAL EXPORTS FROM THE UNITED STATES TO CHINA IN 1889 AND 1898.

Articles.	1889.	1898.
Agricultural implements	$139	$4,293
Books, maps, etc.	6,687	15,836
Bread-stuffs	49,468	110,134
Carriages, cars, etc.	413	56,547
Chemicals	10,507	67,271
Clocks and watches	19,192	18,504
Fruits	7,582	31,785
Glass	813	2,807
India-rubber manufactures	2,805	3,250
Instruments, scientific, telegraph, etc.	1,869	31,119
Builders' hardware	4,408	11,940
Nails	32	54,172
Scales	3,282	6,901
Stoves, ranges, etc.	3,992	11,062
Total iron and steel	67,214	464,521
Mineral oils	908,574	2,865,095
Musical instruments	2,886	4,635
Printing paper	.....	386,376
Canned beef	23,150	173,856
Bacon	13,191	35,655
Hams	12,639	68,159
Pork, salted, etc.	1,200	23,300
Lard	540	21,930
Butter	3,547	21,555
Cheese	34,094	44,264
Salt	3,000	150,000
Tobacco, manufactured	23,562	328,404
Wine	1,201	8,241
Lumber	26,724	120,251
Wood, and manufactures of	52,994	167,881
Total imports into China :		
From the entire world	$127,594,764	[1] $158,207,000
From the United States	$2,790,621	$9,992,070
Per cent from the United States	2.2	6.3

[1] 1897.

much in value as those of ten years ago. It will be observed, however, that, despite the fact that our sales to China have increased much more rapidly than those of other parts of the world, we still supply less than 7 per cent of her total imports, although our Pacific ports have shorter and more direct water communication with the commercial centres of China than have the ports of any other country. O. P. AUSTIN.

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HAVE WE SUFFICIENT GOLD IN CIRCULATION?

MONETARY science has no exact answer to the question, What should be the proportion of gold in the monetary circulation to insure the maintenance of the gold standard? In our own monetary experiences we have often seemed perilously near the margin of safety. But in the last two years a feeling of confidence has given place to the former sense of insecurity; for the gold in our circulation has been increasing. No fact of our recent monetary history has been more loudly proclaimed; and none is attested by more indisputable evidence.

The increase of gold not only greets us in the statements of the Treasury, but faces us in the holdings of the banks and in the receipts of the Government, and shows itself occasionally in the money which passes through our hands in daily life. The Treasury statements tell us that the gold in circulation, in coin and certificates, ranged, from 1883 to 1889, between four and five hundred millions of dollars; while from 1889 to 1895 it varied from five to six hundred millions. On July 1, 1896, it was comparatively low, 497.1 millions; a year later it had risen to 554.9 millions; and at the opening of the last fiscal year, July 1, 1898, it had reached the sum of 693.8 millions. This substantial increase since 1896 is confirmed by the reports of the National banks. From July 14, 1896, to July 14, 1898, the holdings of the National banks in gold and gold certificates increased from 161.9 millions to 284.9 millions. If the banks "other than National," whose aggregate resources are very considerable, increased their gold holdings in a like proportion, as there is every reason to believe they did, it may well be argued that practically all of the increase of gold since 1896 is in sight.[1]

Moreover, in the reappearance of gold in the Government's receipts, there is gratifying evidence that the pressure upon the gold-

[1] By methods explained later in this article, I estimate the amount of gold in "other" banks at 120.2 millions in 1896, and at 174.5 millions in 1898. With the amounts above given for the National banks this estimate would account for an increase in bank holdings alone of 177.3 millions in the two years in question.

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supply has ceased. While gold receipts have never been entirely absent, the comparatively minute sums of gold coin which have found their way into the National Treasury through the Custom-House since January, 1894, have been garnered almost exclusively on the Pacific Coast. The gold collected each month at the Port of New York, notably since January, 1895, was, with a single exception, too insignificant to constitute 1 per cent of the total receipts until October, 1897. In that month gold formed 3.6 per cent of the total receipts,—a proportion which rose so rapidly that since April, 1897, from one-half to three-quarters of the receipts at the New York Custom-House have been in gold coin.[1]

Thus the symptoms of returning health in our monetary circulation are numerous and conclusive. For some, they have dispelled all fear for the future safety of the patient. Many friends of gold have felt that the time has come when they may relax their vigilance. It may be that they are right, and that time will do the rest. But, however favorable the progress of recent years, it may be well to ask whether we have yet reached a point of safety; whether the wide-spread feeling of confidence in our monetary system has, in fact, an adequate foundation. Is there any point of absolute safety short of an entire gold circulation? If so, monetary science has not established it beyond peradventure. Yet, the larger the proportion of gold in the monetary system, the greater our sense of security.

The question concerns not merely the increase since 1896, but the original stock upon which this increase was grafted. It is to the amount of this stock existing in 1896 that the present inquiry is directed. After eliminating the Treasury holdings, the monetary circulation of the country is reported as follows:

Date.	Total.	Gold (Coin and Certificates).	Per Cent of Gold.
July 1, 1896.....	$1,506,434,966	$497,103,183	30.2
July 1, 1897.....	1,640,209,519	554,875,027	33.8
July 1, 1898.....	1,837,859,895	693,762,052	37.7

The increase which these figures record may be accepted as proved. Yet when the average citizen is informed that more than one-third of

[1] Reference is here made to coin only; for the use of gold certificates for the payment of Customs duties has practically ceased since the Government began to restrict the issue of such certificates.

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the money in circulation is gold, he is generally incredulous; but his incredulity vanishes when he is told that all the money of the banks is included in this sum, and that the gold is to be found there. Should he be satisfied with this explanation? Does it account for the wide difference between the estimate and his personal experience?

The whole sum of gold which was reported in circulation on July 1, 1896, was $497,103,183; and our immediate problem is to find the traces of this gold. If we turn to the National banks, we find that on July 14, 1896, they held gold, in coin and certificates, to the amount of 161.9 million dollars, which leaves a goodly sum as yet unaccounted for. There are many other banks with perhaps equal motives for accumulating gold. Of the amounts they held there is no exact record; but the quantity is not beyond the reach of a reasonably accurate estimate. The total money of all kinds in possession of the National banks in July, 1896,—disregarding merely the minor coinage, an insignificant detail in the holdings of banks,—amounted to 361.7 million dollars. Of this total, gold formed 44.4 per cent. The State banks, loan and trust companies, savings banks, and private banks, from which the Comptroller of the Currency obtained reports at the same time, held in cash of all kinds 169.2 million dollars. The reports were not complete. Out of a total of 9,260 banks "other than National" there were 3,480 from which no information was obtained. Had they held proportionately the same amount of cash as the banks reporting, the total cash in all these banks would have been 270.7 million dollars. The assumption, that the non-reporting banks were essentially like those which made reports, finds official sanction in the Report of the Comptroller of the Currency in 1896.

If we are warranted in assuming that the "other" banks had the same motives for accumulating gold as the National banks, we may estimate their gold holdings at 44.4 per cent of their cash, or 120.2 million dollars. Adding this sum to the amount of gold held by the National banks, we have accounted for 282.1 million dollars,—an amount, however, which falls short of the reported circulation of gold by 215 million dollars. It would appear, therefore, that, outside of the National Treasury and the vaults of all banks, there is probably as much as 215 million dollars of gold in general circulation.

Before searching further for this vast amount of gold, it is important that we should be sure of our ground and test our methods. The only conjectural element thus far introduced is the gold held by other banks. If this has been exaggerated, a true estimate would only in-

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crease the difficulty of our undertaking, which is to find a large quantity of gold not in the banks. The objection of an under-statement of the gold in other banks is less probable; for it would imply that the minor banks had greater motives than the larger ones for accumulating gold. Fortunately, the method of estimate does not rest wholly on these general grounds. In July, 1896, the Comptroller of the Currency made a special investigation of the kinds of money held by banks. In addition to reports from 3,458 National banks, he received direct reports from 2,265 other banking institutions which held on July 1, 1896, $77,950,233 in cash, of which $34,484,737, or 44.4 per cent, was gold. Again, among the "other" banks which made a specific report of gold holdings in July, 1898, the proportion to their total cash was practically the same as that reported by National banks at the same date. It is true that in 1896 the Comptroller of the Currency, basing his calculations upon the number rather than on the resources of the banks not under national supervision, estimated their gold at $140,939,807. This larger estimate would slightly reduce the amount of gold to be accounted for in the hands of the people, but would not change the nature of the task.

Was there in fact so much gold coin circulating among the people in 1896, and has that amount been increased since that time? Before we can answer this question we must know something of the relation which gold bears to the other money reported to be in circulation, and which may be assumed to be in the hands of the people. Fortunately, we have definite statements of the amount of each kind of money in circulation, and exact knowledge of the amount held by National banks. For all other banks we have calculated the total amount of cash, and must estimate its distribution. Two kinds of money, gold certificates and currency certificates, are almost exclusively bank money. So large a proportion of the total amount of outstanding gold certificates is in the hands of the National banks that, even if we assign all the remainder to the other banks, their share would be relatively less than that of the National banks. We may, therefore, conclude that the banks hold them all, and that any gold which may circulate outside of banks is in the form of coin. With respect to the other elements of our monetary circulation, it seems fair to assume, since the rule is so well confirmed for gold, that they will all be found in like proportions in both classes of banks. If these assumptions be correct, they furnish, for July, 1896, the results which are set forth in the following table:

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Description.	In Circulation.	In Banks.	In the Hands of the People.
Gold coin	$454,905,064	$239,854,127	$215,050,937
Gold certificates	42,198,119	42,198,119	.....
Silver dollars	52,116,904	12,698,823	39,418,081
Silver fractional coin	60,204,451	10,284,864	49,919,587
Silver certificates	330,657,191	54,426,162	276,231,029
United States notes [1]	319,295,115	208,854,204	110,440,911
Currency certificates	31,890,000	31,890,000	.....
National bank notes	215,168,122	32,169,948	182,998,174
Total	$1,506,434,966	$632,376,247	$874,058,719

[1] This line contains the legal tender notes and the Treasury notes of 1890, as they are not separately stated in the returns of conditions made by the National banks to the Comptroller of the Currency.

With this general view of our monetary system, one cannot fail to be impressed with the large proportion as well as with the amount of gold which it contains. Not only is the proportion of gold large in the banks, but, according to our table, gold coin forms 24.6 per cent, or, in round numbers, one-fourth of the money which circulates among the people. Daily experience does not confirm the statement; but daily experience may be at fault. Some of the money enumerated in the table does not enter into competition with gold. If we should eliminate the silver coin, and allow for the one- and two-dollar notes in circulation, we should find that, in the money of $5 and over in general circulation, gold formed a somewhat larger part,—perhaps as much as one-third. Does gold in fact enter for nearly one-third of the amount into payments between individuals involving any considerable sum? Again common experience denies what seems a logical conclusion from the official figures.

In this conflict of opinion we are not left entirely to the uncertain testimony of personal experience. During the fiscal year 1896–1897 the amount of gold in the country was increasing; and the beginning of the year represents perhaps a minimum point. If, in the circulation of the country, gold formed 25 per cent, it must appear strange that so little of it was paid to the Government for Customs duties? In the aggregate Customs receipts for 1897 of $176,155,705, only $5,437,500, or a little more than 3 per cent, was received in gold. This was collected mainly at San Francisco, where, in total receipts of $6,054,136, upward of 78 per cent was in gold. In the remaining Treasury offices the Customs gold receipts for the year amounted to $704,827, or $\frac{4}{10}$ of 1 per cent of the total amount. If these facts seem to show that there

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was in reality less gold in circulation than claimed, it is to be noted, on the other hand, that they are not absolutely conclusive. Gold does not flow into the Government's coffers except when it flows out. When the Government pays gold freely to the banks, the latter are ready to give it to their customers, and these in turn to pay it back to the Government. Now, at the period under consideration the Government was not paying out gold freely. But the facts in the case at least justify the question, If one-fourth of the money in the hands of the people was gold, why should there have been such a pressure for the yellow metal that both the Government and the banks felt it necessary to protect their holdings?

We have further testimony regarding the money in the hands of the people in the year 1896 which is yet more conclusive; and it is this that caused me to select that year as the basis of my calculations. This testimony is a detailed statement of the deposits in banks on July 1, 1896. The reports, made directly to the Comptroller of the Currency, covered 5,530 banks, both National and State, and embraced nearly six million depositors. The purpose of the inquiry was to determine the proportion of credit instruments used in payments; but the figures serve equally well to illustrate the kinds of money in circulation. It is upon similar returns from banks and public treasuries that European Governments base their estimates of the kinds of money in general use. On July 1, 1896, the aggregate deposits in the banks represented in the inquiry amounted to the considerable sum of $302,936,232, of which a large proportion consisted of credit instruments. The cash deposits with which we are here concerned were grouped as follows: Gold coin, $1,868,589, or 8.3 per cent; silver coin, $1,643,844, or 7.3 per cent; paper currency, $19,084,598, or 84.4 per cent; total, $22,597,031.

If we group the figures already given for the amounts of money in the hands of the people, we find the following results: Gold coin, $215,050,937, or 24.6 per cent; silver coin, $89,337,668, or 10.2 per cent; paper currency, $569,670,114, or 65.2 per cent; total, $874,058,719.

The disagreement in the proportions of the types of money in the two series is striking. If deposits in banks are a fair sample of the money actually used in payments, it is clear that they should have contained a much larger proportion of gold than they actually did. Indeed, were the amount of gold and silver coin in circulation absolutely identical, we should expect to find in bank deposits a larger

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share of gold than of silver, because the former is current in larger denominations. The larger the denomination of the money, the greater the probability of its being deposited in banks; since, for those who use banks at all, this is the usual process of making change. If proof be needed of this simple proposition, it will suffice to point out that the deposits recorded in July, 1896, represent 1.84 per cent of the silver coin and 3.35 per cent of the paper currency estimated to be in the hands of the people. It must seem wholly illogical that of the gold in circulation outside of the banks only .87 per cent found its way into the banks by deposit on July 1, 1896. It seems improbable that silver should be deposited relatively twice as frequently as gold, and paper currency four times as often.

But, if we examine the reports of these deposits more closely, we find that a large part of the gold deposited is found in bank deposits of the Rocky Mountain and Pacific States,—that group of States which the Census designates as "Western." Separating these States from the remainder, we find that the deposits on July 1, 1896, stood as follows:

Description.	Western States.		Other States.	
	Amount.	Per Cent.	Amount.	Per Cent.
Gold coin.....	$1,222,193	69.4	$646,396	3.1
Silver coin.....	129,460	7.4	1,514,384	7.3
Paper currency.....	409,164	23.2	18,675,434	89.6
	$1,760,817	100.0	$20,836,214	100.0

In these Western States, where the free circulation of gold is a matter of common observation, this metal has a large share in the bank deposits. In order to determine whether in the remainder of the country gold plays in bank deposits a *rôle* commensurate with its assumed importance in the general monetary circulation, we must find a measure of that importance. In 1890 the Western States comprised about 5 per cent of our total population; but, as the region is one of rapid growth and has a less highly developed banking system than older and more populous States, it will be fair to assign to this region 10 per cent of the monetary circulation of the country. Now, if this

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sum were distributed in the same proportions as in the bank deposits, we should have in circulation :

Description.	Western States.		Other States.	
	Amount.	Per Cent.	Amount.	Per Cent.
Gold coin	$60,659,675	69.4	$154,391,262	19.6
Silver coin	6,468,035	7.4	82,869,633	10.5
Paper currency	20,278,162	23.2	549,391,952	69.9
	$87,405,872	100.0	$786,652,847	100.0

It is clear that the larger the amount of gold assigned to the Pacific Coast, the simpler the problem becomes for the other States. But I believe that I have stretched the estimate to the extreme of probability ; for the gold in general circulation is assumed to be equal in proportion to the gold in bank deposits.

The elimination of the Pacific Coast does not simplify the problem. If we look at the proportions of money estimated to be in general circulation and the amount known to be deposited, the disproportion is even greater in the remaining States than it is when the whole country is considered. Or, if we calculate the proportion of the estimated stock which was deposited in these States, we find for gold the meagre figure of .42 per cent ; for silver, 1.83 per cent ; and for paper currency, 3.40 per cent.

There is a glaring discrepancy between the amount of gold reported to be in circulation and that amount as indicated by the bank deposits. The extent of this discrepancy cannot be accurately measured ; and yet, if we wish to secure even a general idea of its significance in amounts rather than proportions, some estimate must be attempted. In making such an estimate, we accept without question the statements of the Treasury in regard to other forms of money. It is hardly necessary to explain that they are subject neither to export nor hoarding, and must of necessity remain in the country for monetary use. Our problem is, therefore, to estimate the amount of gold in the country not in the banks, on the basis of the gold shown in the deposits of nearly six million persons on July 1, 1896. The following methods may be employed :

1. It may be assumed that the gold in circulation among the peo-

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ple corresponds in proportion to the gold among the deposits. In that case, 8.3 per cent of our money out of the banks is gold, and 91.7 per cent is paper and silver.

2. It may be assumed that gold in the hands of the people is deposited in banks as frequently as paper money.

3. It may be assumed that the gold in the hands of the people is approximately as stated for the Pacific Coast, and may be determined for the rest of the country by the first method.

4. The same assumption may be made for the Pacific Coast, and the figures for the rest of the country determined by the second method.

We then have the following results, assuming the amount of gold in the banks and other money in circulation to be the same in each case:

	Gold not in Banks.	Total Gold.	Total Money in Circulation.	Per Cent of Gold.
Original estimate....	$215,050,937	$497,103,183	$1,506,434,966	30.2
First method.....	69,648,469	351,700,715	1,361,032,498	25.8
Second method.....	55,778,776	337,831,022	1,347,162,805	25.8
Third method.....	80,886,826	362,939,090	1,372,270,873	26.5
Fourth method.....	79,671,322	361,723,568	1,371,054,351	26.4

It is not pretended that any of these estimates represents the exact state of affairs; yet even in the most favorable case the amount of gold thus estimated falls short by $135,000,000 of the amount reported. How can this discrepancy be explained?

It might indeed be argued that bank deposits were no criteria of the money circulating among the people; but it is not believed that such a contention would be seriously received. With greater apparent justice it might be argued that the deposits on July 1, 1896, in the midst of a period of financial stress when the gold standard itself was trembling in the balance, form no just criterion of the money actually in circulation. A second explanation would turn upon the meaning of the phrase "in circulation." It would argue that the gold was actually in existence in the country, and in so far "in circulation" in the sense intended by the Treasury, but that it had been hoarded and would not therefore appear in the bank deposits. A third explanation of the discrepancy—which I believe has the weight of evidence in its favor—would be, that all of the gold reported in the country did not in fact exist, and that there was a flaw in the calculation by which the stock of gold was determined.

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If the first explanation be the correct one, our whole contention falls to the ground. It is unfortunate that the only evidence of the money actually circulating among the people should have been gathered in 1896. But a closer examination of the facts will show that this does not substantially affect the inquiry. It would invalidate our conclusions, if there had been a temporary hoarding of gold in July, 1896; but the monetary stringency of the year 1896 occurred later than July. In September discount rates were excessive; but in July they were normal. Hence, it may be inferred that the monetary uncertainty caused by the Free Silver agitation, which led to a hoarding of gold, had not affected financial circles so early as July. Evidences of hoarding would be found in excessive holdings of gold among the people; but this is not indicated by the official figures, which are as shown in the subjoined table.

GOLD IN MILLIONS OF DOLLARS.

July.	In Circulation.	In National Banks.	In the Hands of other Banks and of the People.
1894	562.3	199.6	362.7
1895	528.2	171.2	357.0
1896	497.1	161.9	335.2
1897	554.8	193.7	361.1
1898	693.8	284.9	408.9

The explanation that gold has been hoarded, and that year by year considerable sums have been extracted from the monetary circulation and laid aside in odd nooks, or buried in the ground, might account for the discrepancies which have been noted. It would not, however, help the monetary difficulty: for such hoarded gold cannot be considered a part of the monetary system. It would merely prove what I have contended; viz., that the available gold basis of our monetary fabric is less than is currently believed. But is the explanation in itself probable? Sporadic cases of miserly hoarding of coin may indeed occur; but it will hardly be credited that the intelligent American people, ever keen to make a profit, have put away over one hundred million dollars of gold, relinquishing all hope of interest upon this capital.

There remains but one explanation, namely, an error in the calculations of the Treasury officials. To ascertain whether such an error is possible, we must look into the methods pursued in determining

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the amount of gold in circulation. As set forth in a response of the Secretary of the Treasury to an inquiry of Congress touching this matter, the methods of calculation followed by the Treasury officials cannot be questioned, if the data be accurate.[1]

Since 1873 there has been added to the gold stock of that year the annual coinage and importation of domestic coin; and from the sum thus obtained deductions have been made for recoinages, the exportation of domestic coin, and the industrial consumption of gold coin. As the coinage is accurately known, any possible errors must lie in the other elements of the calculations, some of which can be more accurately studied than others. The existing stock in 1873 was calculated with reasonable correctness, the known elements in the computation being the Treasury holdings and the holdings of the National banks. In the aggregate estimate of $128,389,864 the only conjectural element was an allowance of $30,000,000 for the gold circulation of the Pacific Coast and for private hoards. Hence, it is clear that no initial error here could account for the discrepancies which have been pointed out.

A sincere and thorough effort has been made by the Bureau of the Mint to ascertain the industrial use of gold. Nowhere else are these inquiries pursued by such intelligent methods and commendable zeal as in our country. The amount annually reported is considerably larger than that which foreign Governments are able to trace. But the concentration of industry, and the fact that the Government affords facilities for the purchase of gold in bars, lead to the belief that the industrial consumption of coin is small.

If these elements be conceded to be substantially correct, the only remaining source of possible error is in the estimate of exports and imports of gold coin. The figures used by the Bureau of the Mint are the official records of Custom-House officials. They do not, however, include any coin carried on the persons of passengers; it being assumed by the Bureau of the Mint that the amounts thus exported and imported offset one another. But this assumption is open to question; for it is probable that what may be termed the personal exportation of domestic gold coin exceeds considerably its personal importation. Outgoing passengers belong mainly to two classes; viz., (1) those who visit Europe merely for business or pleasure, and (2) steerage passengers, many of whom are returning to their native countries to enjoy the fruits of their labors among us. Incoming passengers, on the other

[1] Finance Report, 1898, p. 493.

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hand, consist mainly of those who return to the United States after their special purposes have been accomplished, and of immigrants who come to this country to seek their fortunes. It needs no statistical demonstration to prove that the outgoing passengers carry a larger stock of money with them than the incoming. It is, moreover, probable that those who leave the United States carry with them domestic coin, while those who come to us from abroad bring with them foreign coin. Nor would the sums thus carried out of the country be insignificant in the aggregate. The passenger travel since 1873 has been numbered by millions ; and a small average amount assigned to each passenger would bring the sum total of this personal exportation of gold to hundreds of millions of dollars. Here, I believe, is the source of error, which, in the course of time, has resulted in official figures for the gold in our monetary circulation so far in excess of the amount of gold in sight.

It is humiliating to think that the strength of our monetary situation is based not upon demonstrable facts, but on elusive estimates which cannot be substantiated. But, if such be the case, there can be no better time than the present frankly to admit it. The Treasury officials owe it to the people to demonstrate the existence of the gold they claim, or to revise their estimates. Nor would a revision of the estimates weaken the hold of the gold standard. Exact knowledge of the facts is of far greater worth than false confidence.

In the meantime those who propose radical changes in our banking system, with an extension of credit money, will do well to ponder the question, Have we sufficient gold in our monetary circulation?

ROLAND P. FALKNER.

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RECENT CANADIAN FICTION.

AMONG many good influences which are shaping the course of the young Canadian Dominion—the sturdy Northland—toward a true and virile manhood, none is more significant and far-reaching than the growth of a strong and wholesome native literature. While it would, perhaps, be going too far to say that Canada can boast of any men of genius, in the true sense of the term, it cannot be denied that she has given birth to not a few writers of undoubted talent.

Such men as Sir James Le Moine, Sir John Bourinot, Benjamin Sulte, and the late Dr. Kingsford, among historians; Charles Heavysege, W. W. Campbell, C. G. D. Roberts, the late A. Lampman, Bliss Carman, and the two Scotts, in verse; and Sir William Dawson, Dr. G. M. Dawson, Grant Allen, and the late J. G. Romanes, in the realm of science, would do credit to any country, and are certainly men of whom Canada has every reason to be proud. And Canadian men-of-letters are no less proud of their native land; for it is a notable fact that, however far abroad they may roam, they never forget the Northland, and never cease to speak and write of it with fondness and pride.

In the enumeration of those who are doing credit to the land of their birth, a very important class has so far been omitted—the novelists. As a matter of fact, until quite recently Canada could scarcely be said to have any novelists. Fiction has been in the past the most unfruitful branch of our intellectual tree. While every decade has produced scores of verse-writers and one or two genuine poets, and every period of the national history has had its more or less capable historians, the rich mines of Canadian history and national characteristics have remained almost untouched by novelists. There is in Canada the broadest possible field for the writer of fiction. The early days of the French occupation teem with incidents of dramatic and romantic interest, such as the interminable conflicts between the French and the English, and between each of these and the Indians; the expulsion of the Acadians, and the stirring incidents of the Jesuit Relations; later, the exodus of the United Empire Loyalists from New England to Canada, the War of 1812, etc. For the analytical novel-

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ist and the novelist who makes the delineation of character his special field, there is also no lack of opportunity in the contrast and mingling of two races so different in character and mode of thought, and yet one in loyalty and mutual respect. Nor are definite types wanting : the picturesque habitant of Quebec and his brother, the simple-minded Acadian of the Lower Provinces ; the sturdy and self-reliant farmer of Ontario ; the breezy and unsophisticated son of the great Northwest ; the free-and-easy miner and lumberman of the Pacific Slope ; the trapper of the North ; the coast fisherman ; the Prince Edward Islander, who believes that the whole Dominion circles around his little island, and the degenerate aborigine,—these are all component parts of our mixed population.

It is true that from time to time in the past a solitary figure has arisen and made a half-hearted attempt to arouse the dormant interest of his countrymen. The late James De Mille, for many years Professor of English Literature at Dalhousie College, Halifax, published about forty novels and tales, chiefly through "Harper's." At the time, they were all popular in the United States ; but very few of them had any lasting value. The best were "Helena's Household," "The Martyr of the Catacombs"; "The Dodge Club"; "Cord and Creese"; "The B. O. W. C. Papers" ; and a posthumous novel, entitled "A Strange Manuscript Found in a Copper Cylinder." At a still earlier period De Gaspé published his historical novel, "Les Anciens Canadiens" ; Mrs. Leprohon, "Antoinette de Mirecourt," and a number of other stories ; Miss A. M. Machar and Mrs. Traill (the latter a member of the famous Strickland family) wrote tales of the pioneer days and the War of 1812 ; and William Kirby published his "Golden Dog," a historical romance of the days of the French occupation. Nearly all of these were published in the United States, and were only known there. Canadians had not yet thrown off the stern and eminently practical spirit of the pioneer, fresh from the battle with nature for a home ; and they could not stoop to anything so trivial as the reading of novels, especially those of home production.

A few years ago Gilbert Parker's name became known through the publication of some clever sketches of life in the wild Northwest —"Pierre and His People" and "An Adventurer of the North." These were followed by several novels, based on the early romantic period of Canadian history, the best of which was "The Seats of the Mighty," which has since been dramatized. Sara Jeannette Duncan (Mrs. Cotes), Robert Barr, Grant Allen, and Miss Lily Dougall have

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also each written a number of novels. But it is not until we come down to the autumn of 1898 that we at length see what promises to be the genuine and thorough awakening of the long dormant spirit of Canadian fiction.

It is as if the fire of Canadian fiction, after a prolonged period of smouldering, had at length been blown into a fairly respectable blaze which promised in time to develop into a permanent beacon.

While this outburst of fiction is largely spontaneous, it would also seem to be due, to some extent at least, to the encouraging growth of interest among Canadians generally, created, after a mighty struggle, by Gilbert Parker and one or two other pioneers in the field. The scales have been gradually dropping from the eyes of the intelligent Canadian reader; and he is beginning to realize that something of literary merit may really come out of Canada. In no other country has the literary aspirant been compelled to struggle against such heavy odds: but, happily, the dawn of a brighter day is breaking; and as the prospect of appreciation in his native country grows more encouraging, he is entering with enthusiasm into the wide field of fiction.

During the autumn of 1898 there were published—some in Canada, some in England, and several in the United States—at least a score of novels by Canadian authors, most of whom were new to the reading public. These books are of varying merit; but, taken as a whole, they give promise of strong and wholesome quality, and show a finished style of workmanship.

Besides new romances and stories by such well-known writers as Gilbert Parker, Mrs. Cotes, Robert Barr, Grant Allen, and E. W. Thomson (Editor of the "Youth's Companion"), others have been published by such new novelists as Mrs. S. Frances Harrison, of Toronto, Rev. C. W. Gordon, who writes under the *nom-de-plume* of "Ralph Connor," William D. Lighthall, William McLennan, Miss Macdonell of Montreal, Edgar M. Smith (Editor of the "Metropolitan"), Mrs. Joanna E. Wood, Mrs. Henshaw, of Vancouver (whose pen-name is "Julian Durham"), Miss Marshall Saunders, W. A. Fraser, F. Clifford Smith, and several others. These latter we are chiefly concerned with, as they constitute the new blood which has been infused into the Canadian spirit of fiction. Although this is their first appearance as full-fledged novelists, they have nearly all done some previous literary work. Mrs. Harrison, under the pen-name of "Seranus," published some years ago a small volume of dainty verse, "Pine, Rose, and Fleur-de-Lys," consisting chiefly of *villanelles* and other old French

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forms applied to the picturesque legends and tales of French Canada. Stedman embodied five pages from Mrs. Harrison's book in his "Victorian Anthology." She also published a volume of short stories, or sketches, "Crowded Out," which were praised very highly both in London and in New York. Mrs. Harrison possesses, to quote the words of Prof. Clark, of Trinity College, "a quick and ready wit, a profoundly sympathetic nature, an unusual power of entering into the thoughts and sentiments of others, besides a very high poetic endowment." In 1887 she issued a "Canadian Birthday Book," consisting wholly of selections from English- and French-Canadian poets. Mr. Lighthall has published "The Young Seigneur," a short story of fair merit, and a volume of verse. He has also edited "Songs of the Great Dominion," the best existing anthology of Canadian poetry. William McLennan is well known as the translator of Ernest Gagnon's "Chansons Populaires." He has also written a number of short stories of Quebec life for "Harper's," at different times. Miss Macdonell, "Ralph Connor," and Edgar M. Smith have each published short stories in the magazines. Miss Marshall Saunders is the author of "Beautiful Joe," a story of a dog, written in the interests of the dumb creation, which has reached a circulation of two hundred thousand.

It will be observed that in fiction, as in verse, Canadian women are marching apace with the members of the opposite sex ; and this applies as well to the quality as to the quantity of their productions.

Gilbert Parker easily takes first place with his "Battle of the Strong." This splendid novel has been greeted with a storm of applause by reviewers on both sides of the Atlantic. It is not simply the best and strongest Canadian novel of the past year, or of any year, but, running over the whole output of fiction during 1898, it is difficult, if not impossible, to pick out a novel that stands higher in lucid and harmonious style, keen analysis, dramatic interest, and human insight.

Robert Barr possesses a clear and pleasing style of narrative ; and his work is ever wholesome and sincere. "Tekla," his last book, is no unworthy successor to his earlier productions, "The Mutable Many," "A Woman Intervenes," "In the Midst of Alarms," and others.

In Mrs. Cotes we have a novelist of quite a different style. Her work is light and vivacious ; and through it runs a vein of gentle humor which is her own, and yet has much in common with Anthony Hope's "Dolly Dialogues" and Mr. Howells' charming little "Farces."

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Last year Mrs. Cotes published "A Voyage of Consolation," in which she continues the amusing adventures of "An American Girl in London." While her latest work has many of the distinctive qualities which have made her books so popular, especially to the jaded traveller, I was more favorably impressed with some of her earlier books, notably "A Social Departure" and "His Honour and a Lady."

Grant Allen is more generally known as a scientist than as a novelist; and as a writer on scientific subjects he has the happy faculty of presenting the dry facts in a most entertaining style. His latest novel, "Linnet," though perhaps no high literary quality can be claimed for it, will, nevertheless, serve admirably to while away a lazy afternoon. "Miss Cayley's Adventures," which have been recently told in "The Strand Magazine," have also been issued in book form.

Among the new writers, Rev. Mr. Gordon has done the best work, in his "Black Rock: a Tale of the Selkirks." Mr. Gordon has put into this story of the free and vigorous life of the Pacific Slope his own strong personality. He is intensely in earnest, and frankly acknowledges that he would point a moral, in drawing attention to the crying evil of intemperance; but he never degenerates into the sickly sentimentality which turns so many away from the Temperance Movement. He is as sincere a believer in the advantages of total abstinence as the most lachrymose of Temperance lecturers, but is at the same time essentially manly, and looks at the question from a broad-minded standpoint.

The *raison d'être* of the book is thus given by the author in his preface: "Because a man's life is all he has, and because the only hope of the brave young West lies in its men, this story is told." While most "books with a purpose" are an abomination, this one is the exception which proves the rule. Perhaps the most striking characteristic of "Black Rock" is the bracing optimism it teaches. The author has a splendid faith in the power which makes for good in every one; and he has the rare gift of forcing his reader, at least temporarily, into sympathy with his own point of view.

The book is fine in literary quality, strong in ethical insight, and admirable in the manner in which the author has caught and embodied in living characters the rough but sincere and manly spirit of the West.

In point of numbers, the historical novel takes first place in the output of contemporary Canadian writers. From Montreal alone have come, quite recently, half a dozen works of this class. Here, as else-

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where, our women are well to the fore. Miss Blanche Lucile Macdonell and Miss Lily Dougall have both made contributions to this branch of fiction, as have also W. D. Lighthall, Edgar Maurice Smith, and William McLennan.

Miss Macdonell's book is called "Diane of Ville Marie," and is her first serious attempt in fiction. It is a romance of French Canada in the days when Frontenac was Governor, and the burly Dollier de Casson ruled over the Seminary at Ville Marie. Though the plot is rather slim, the sketches of the men and women who made up the curious little community of Ville Marie are particularly vivid ; and the author gives the reader an excellent picture of one of the most picturesque periods of Canadian history.

Another romance of old French Canada is Mr. Lighthall's "False Chevalier." This story is founded on a "packet of worm-eaten letters and documents found in an old French-Canadian house on the banks of the St. Lawrence." With these as a foundation, Mr. Lighthall has built up a well-constructed and fascinating story.

Miss Dougall needs no introduction. She is already on terms of easy familiarity with most general readers, as the author of "Zeit Geist" and a number of other stories. Her last book, "The Mormon Prophet," is a curious composition. Miss Dougall believes that there exists a great deal of misapprehension as to the real origin of Mormonism, and as to the character and aims of its first prophet, Joseph Smith. In her novel she endeavors to dissipate this cloud, and, at the same time, to give a faithful and interesting picture of the period.

Edgar M. Smith's "Aneroestes the Gaul" first appeared as a serial in "The Canadian Magazine." It is a story of the Second Punic War, and is perhaps of even greater interest to the student of the period than to the mere novel-reader. The descriptions of the manners and customs of the time show deep research ; and the account of Hannibal's famous march across the Alps, and the subsequent campaign in Italy, is altogether excellent.

William McLennan has lately published two historical novels, one, "Spanish John," written by himself, and the second, "The Span o' Life," in collaboration with J. N. McIlwraith, another Canadian. Both books have appeared as serials in "Harper's." "Spanish John" is a record of the stirring adventures of Col. John Macdonell, while a lieutenant in the Company of St. James of the Regiment Irlandia, in the service of the King of Spain. This story, like "The False Chevalier," is founded on family records ; but it strikes me that the ma-

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terial has not been as successfully turned into readable fiction as in Mr. Lighthall's romance.

"The Span o' Life" is a marked improvement over the former book. Whether the high quality is due to Mr. McLennan himself, or to his collaborator, it would be hard to say; but the improvement is undoubtedly there. Although the story opens in England, the major portion is laid in New France at the time of the Conquest. The stirring incidents of the siege of Louisburg and the capture of Quebec are well told; and the chief characters are sympathetically drawn.

Still another tale, of an even earlier period of Canadian history, is Mr. Marquis's "Marguerite de Roberval." Mr. Marquis has chosen probably the saddest incident in the history of the continent as his theme. The principal points of Marguerite's history are generally believed to be true,—at least they are so given by all the old French historians. Parkman refers, rather cynically, to the story, in "Pioneers of France in the New World": he evidently had but little respect for the credulity of the French writers. Whether the original account be true or not, Mr. Marquis has turned it into a most delightful romance.

Mrs. Joanna E. Wood is the Miss Wilkins of rural Ontario life, and is doing for the Banner Province what Miss Wilkins has done for New England. Two books of hers were published not long ago, "The Untempered Wind" and "Judith Moore"; and a third has just been completed as a serial in "The Canadian Magazine,"—"A Daughter of Witches." Miss Wood brings to the treatment of her subject more than average talent. She has lived among the people, and understands them thoroughly. The characters in her book, while they are not always attractive, are invariably life-like: and the descriptions of village life in Ontario are excellent.

Miss Marshall Saunders, of Halifax, Nova Scotia, is the author of an Acadian romance of the present day, entitled "Rose à Charlitte." The story is rather interesting, although perhaps unnecessarily long-drawn-out. The author takes occasion, through the mouth of one of her characters, to air her views on the much controverted question of the Acadian expulsion: "Only the poets and story-tellers have been true to Acadia. It is the historians who lie." However, the strength of the book lies in the admirable pictures which it presents of life in modern Acadia, along the Bay of Fundy coast of Nova Scotia.

"The Forest of Bourg-Marie," Mrs. Harrison's delightful tale of habitant life, is unquestionably one of the most suggestive and thoughtful studies which have been made of the French-Canadian and his

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habits and customs. Here we find embodied the very spirit of the habitant, his quaint picturesqueness, superstitions, ignorance of the outside world, and withal his *naïveté*. The plot is very simple. It is not a love story : in fact, although written by a woman, the book does not contain a single female character of any importance. Yet Mrs. Harrison has invested her characters with a subtle human charm which at once brings the reader into intimate sympathy with them. The single weak point seems to be one which is common to nearly all the Canadian novels ; viz., too much padding. Our writers have not yet learned to use the pruning-knife freely and judiciously.

Mrs. Henshaw, of British Columbia, shares with Mr. Phillips-Wooley the honor of being the first novelist of the Pacific province. Her book, entitled "Hypnotized," is a study of what may be called unconscious hypnotism. It deserves to be classed with the general run of novels of the mild psychological class ; but Mrs. Henshaw can do better work, and doubtless will.

That indefatigable literary workman, Charles G. D. Roberts, who has produced books of verse, of history, novels, and guide-books in rapid succession, has now added another novel to the existing literature of the Acadians. This book is in the nature of a sequel to "The Forge in the Forest" ; and a third book to complete the trilogy is said to be in preparation. The new story is called "A Sister of Evangeline," and is told with that graphic power and dramatic interest which Mr. Roberts so well knows how to infuse into his work.

As we have a Canadian Miss Wilkins, so, in Mr. W. A. Fraser, have we also a Canadian Kipling. Mr. Fraser is a young civil engineer who, in the pursuit of his profession, has wandered far and wide, not only in his native land, but in British India and Burma. He is an intimate friend of the author of "Tales from the Hills" ; and the influence of the elder writer is seen distinctly in the work of the younger. Yet it is no slavish imitation ; for Mr. Fraser is developing a style of his own, graphic, vivid, and forceful. So far, he has written short stories only ; and in this form of fiction his strength seems to lie. His first volume of tales is called "The Eye of a God." It is made up of sketches of Western Canadian life and life in Burma, and shows close study of both.

Another writer of short stories is Mr. Walsh, of Montreal. His book of short sketches of French-Canadian life, "Bonhomie," has received a good deal of praise in Canada. What Dr. Drummond has so successfully accomplished in verse for the habitant, Mr. Walsh has at-

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tempted in prose. Perhaps his work suffers somewhat from the fact that Mr. E. W. Thomson had already exploited the same field in "Old Man Savarin"; but there is ample room for both.

As has already been mentioned, the preponderating form of fiction in Canada at the present day is the historical novel. Considerably more than half the books above referred to belong to this class. It is but natural that in a new country, endowed with an unusually romantic past, and where the complex influences of social life have not yet taken deep root, the mind of the novelist should turn to the promising and fruitful field of history. It is unnecessary here to discuss the relative merits of historical and other forms of fiction; but, if we compare the historical stories of Canadian writers with those from the pens of English and American novelists in recent years, the result will be found to be not at all unfavorable to the young writers of the Dominion. That they can do equally good work in other fields of fiction is shown by at least two of the books mentioned in this article, "Black Rock" and "The Forest of Bourg-Marie." Having in view the distinctive characteristics of each, it may be safely said that, after "The Battle of the Strong," these two stand highest among recent Canadian novels, both by reason of their excellent substance and their equally excellent workmanship, and also because they are, each in its own way, most typical of the soil. LAWRENCE J. BURPEE.

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